The Outlook

APRIL 12, 1922

THE COAL STRIKE IS ON

THE greatest strike this country has ever known went into effect on April 1. In twenty States about half a million miners laid down their tools. Perhaps six thousand mines, in both hard and soft coal fields, are affected. There was no violence or disorder in the first few days of the strike, and measures have been taken to insure the mines from ruin by flooding. Immediate suffering or industrial loss is improbable because of the immense amount of coal now above ground—about 63,000,000 tons of bituminous and 7,000,000 tons of anthracite, it is reported. The non-unionized West Virginia fields will furnish large quantities of bituminous coal. In fact, however, the public is a loser because it will have to buy coal for houses and factories at prevailing excessive prices.

What has the Government done? At this writing, practically nothing. It is probable that Congress will pass the Bland resolution providing a commission of inquiry into the strike and the coal industry. Meanwhile the permanent Labor Committee of the lower house is holding hearings with a view to its action on the Bland resolution.

A full exposition of the strikers' views was made on April 3 before that Committee by Mr. John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, the central labor organization in both branches of the industry. He dwelt more on what he deemed necessary for stability and peace than on the specific demands at this time. He even said: "In default of any other remedy, the mine workers seriously suggest that the Government take over and operate the mines."

Mr. Lewis based this sensational request on the assertion that miners and operators cannot come together. The bituminous operators in the central competitive district refused to meet the miners' delegates in conference to make a new contract, as called for by the contract made in 1920, which has just expired. This refusal has been condemned by Secretary Davis, of the Labor Department. It may be true, as the operators claim, that a Nation-wide contract is now impossible, but they should nevertheless have urged that view at the agreed meeting and not baldly refused to meet as agreed.

The word "Nationalization" was used by Mr. Lewis in his talk to the Committee, but he also declared that the unions are opposed at present to Government ownership of mines, and he disapproved of anything like the Railway Labor Board. It is evident that what he stands for is such regulation or control as should not involve fixing of prices by the Government or compulsory arbitration of any kind. This would certainly be "Nationalization" of a singularly weak sort, or "regulation without teeth."

One peculiar feature about this strike is that in one State, Kansas, it may be forbidden by the courts; under the Kansas Industrial Law, the Industrial Court has ordered the former wage scale to continue for a month and may after inquiry enjoin the strikers from leaving the mines.

(C) Keystone

JOHN L. LEWIS (LEFT), PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, AND PHILIP MURRAY, ANOTHER WELL-KNOWN LEADER OF THE COAL MINERS

THE DISMISSALS IN THE BUREAU OF PRINTING AND ENGRAVING

SELDOM before in the history of the Federal Civil Service has such a sweeping, sudden, and drastic order been issued as that of President Harding of Friday, March 31, which removed at once by dismissal twenty-seven division heads, assistant division heads, and foremen of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, including the Director himself. The technical language of the order was that it was "for the good of the service," and no explanation accompanied it except the general statement that the changes were made following a study of the Bureau and the need for its reorganization. No irregularities were charged or even hinted at, but the very indefiniteness of the order has given rise to all kinds of rumors. It would seem necessary that sooner or later some more definite explanation of the drastic order will be necessary in justice to those who have been dismissed the service.

An immediate reaction by a part of the general public, including a few Senators and Representatives, was that politics was responsible for the action and that the Civil Service regulations had been placed in jeopardy, for practically all of those dismissed, including the Director, have been under the Civil Service provisions which, among other things, provide that no employee shall be discharged without first being given a written statement of the reasons and an opportunity to defend the charges. In this instance no such procedure was followed, the order merely citing that it was "for the good of the service."

From its suddenness the order must have come as a crushing blow to the employees, all of whom held responsible positions and none of whom, it is said, had the slightest inkling of the impending dismissal. On Friday, March 31, they were employees of the Government at good salaries, as Government salaries go; on Saturday, April 1, they were without jobs and salaries. With the exception of three men, two of whom

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had been in the Government employ only three years and one four years, all had been Government employees for many years.

The average length of service for the twenty-seven men and women dismissed, including the three short-term men, is a few months over twenty-one years each. All of them are well known in Washington and some of them well known Nationally. Mr. James L. Wilmeth, the deposed Director, is Mayor of Takoma Park, a suburb of Washington, and has been in the Government employ for twenty-seven years, six of which have been as Director of the Bureau. George Frederick Cummings Smillie, who shows the longest continuous period of public service—thirty-six years—is one of the best-known steel-plate engravers in the world. He has engraved many of the photographs and vignettes that have appeared on the currency of the United States for the past thirty years. One of his chief works was the silver certificate of 1895, and he has engraved the large portraits of the several Presidents under whose Administrations he has served. Mr. Smillie was superintendent of picture engravers, and with his dismissal that division is eliminated, as are a few other divisions, which indicates that the changes are, as announced, with a view to reorganization and increased efficiency. It is said that in the near future some five hundred employees of the several divisions of the Bureau will be dropped from the rolls in order to get back to a pre-war basis. This will not be an unusual step, but in line with similar action in all of the Government departments.

It has been announced at Washington since the order of dismissal that the Attorney-General is to proceed at once with an exhaustive investigation of the Bureau and that he has already assigned agents to the new Director to proceed with that work. The new Director, who assumed his duties on April 1 and immediately announced successors for the vacancies, is Louis A. Hill, who has been in the Government service for twenty-six years, and for some years has been assistant chief of the engraving division.

THE ARMAMENT CONFERENCE INDORSED BY THE SENATE

All of the treaties negotiated at the Armament Conference at Washington have been approved for ratification by the United States Senate. In addition, there has also been approved for ratification an agreement between the United States and Japan not negotiated at the same time.

The treaty negotiated between the United States and Japan was that relative to the island of Yap. It provides for certain rights in that minute island, important because it is a cable station at a strategic point. This was the first of the treaties to receive the Senate's approval.

The other treaties, negotiated at the Conference itself and approved, are as follows:

I. A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, limiting naval armament.

II. A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.

III. A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean.

IV. A declaration accompanying the Four-Power Treaty relating to insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific.

V. A treaty supplementary to the Four-Power Treaty relating to insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific.

VI. A treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.

VII. A treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, relating to Chinese customs tariff.

Of these the only treaty which had to run a gauntlet of debate was the Four-Power Treaty, concerning insular possessions and dominions. This, as The Outlook has already reported, was approved by a vote of 67 to 27, a majority larger by only four votes than the required two-thirds. The declaration accompanying the Four-Power Treaty and the treaties supplementary to the Four-Power Treaty (Nos. IV and V above) also received the Senate's approval. The other treaties were approved by very much larger votes—virtually unanimous.

These treaties did not represent, however, the only achievement of the Washington Conference. In fact, perhaps the most critical question at the Conference was not included within any of the treaties. This was the dispute between Japan and China relative to the province of Shantung. The conversations between the delegates of these two countries were not officially regarded as part of the Conference itself, but to all intents and purposes they were carried on as the other negotiations were. The result was a treaty between China and Japan which settled that disturbing question. This was a matter which had as much as anything to do with American dissatisfaction with the result of the Peace Conference at Paris; the settlement of it at Washington was an achievement of the first order. Credit for this is due, not only to the intelligence of the representatives of both the countries immediately concerned, but to the wisdom and tact of President Harding, Secretary Hughes, and Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation.

In addition to the treaties which called for Senatorial action there was a group of resolutions. There were twelve resolutions accompanied by certain declarations which, though not in the nature of treaties, committed the governments involved to certain principles and policies. Two of these resolutions provided for the constitution of a commission of jurists to consider the amendment of the laws of war. The other resolutions concerned policies in the Far East. Among these resolutions perhaps the most far-reaching was that which provided that all the participating Powers should file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference a list of all their treaties and agreements which they might have with China or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China, and as nearly as possible all contracts between their nationals and the Chinese Government or any of its local authorities. Never before has there been any agreement or understanding for equal rights and fair dealing in the Far East comparable to the understanding reached through the Far Eastern treaties and these resolutions which were drafted at the Washington Conference. If it had not been for the understanding reached concerning these difficult and contentious questions concerning the great area on the globe known as the Far East any treaty for the limitation of naval armament would have been impossible, and, if possible, would have been futile. The policies of the nations involved in the affairs of the Far East have as a consequence of this Conference become humanized to a degree which a few months ago seemed out of the range of practical international politics.

MORE WAYS THAN ONE TO SCRAP A NAVY

If the American delegates to the Armament Conference had proposed an arrangement under which the United States should have a Navy weaker than Japan's and less than half the strength of Great Britain's, the country would have been in a turmoil of protest.

If the delegates had arranged for an American Navy which to outward ap-

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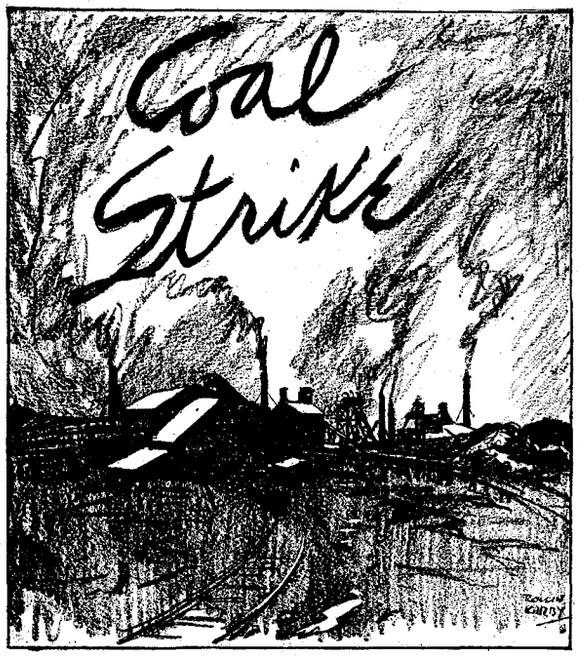
O' MY WORD, WE'LL NOT CARRY COALS

(Romeo and Juliet, Act I, Scene 1)

Kirby in the New York World



ALL SET

From Julius J. H. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

Pease in the Newark Evening News

WEIGHING THE COST

From Rev. H. A. Pearce, West Orange, N. J.

Reid in the New York Evening Mail

A ROW IN THE KITCHEN

Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch

THE INITIAL SHOCK WON'T HURT HIM—BUT WHERE WILL HE 'LIGHT?

From Newton Bradford, Columbus, Ohio

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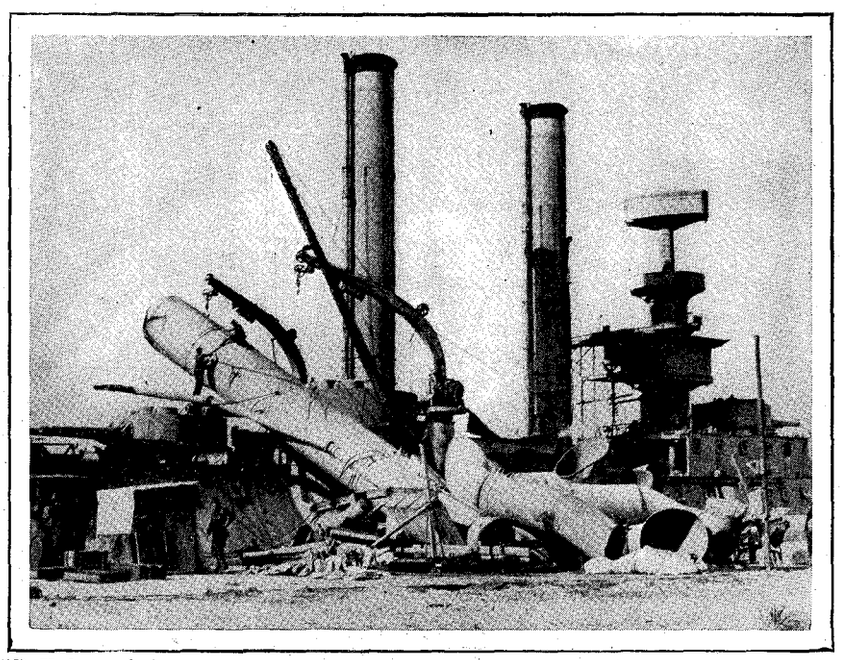

(C) Underwood

SCRAPPING THE BROOKLYN, ONCE THE PRIDE OF THE NAVY AND ADMIRAL SCHLEY'S FLAGSHIP AT THE BATTLE OF SAN DIEGO, CUBA, WHEN THE SPANISH FLEET WAS DESTROYED

War veterans who were out of work are wrecking the ship, which cost $5,000,000 and which was sold to a San Francisco junk firm for $40,000

pearances would have the strength equal to that of Great Britain's and two-thirds again as much as Japan's and yet by subterfuge had arranged that this appearance would have been a sham, the Navy, in fact, actually weaker than Japan's and less than half the strength of Great Britain's, those delegates would have been rightly denounced as treacherous.

And yet that is exactly what the House of Representatives is apparently proposing to do. Navies can be scrapped in two ways: the ships themselves can be dismantled or the Navy can be deprived of men. The most efficient way to scrap the Navy is not to scrap its ships but to scrap its men. Ships can be rebuilt, but men cannot be provided for a navy, officers who know how to maneuver squadrons cannot be supplied except after long years of training. The country that scraps its ships can in two or three years build better ones; but the country that scraps its naval men cannot provide their substitutes when emergency demands. The Washington Conference, after long negotiations in which America made great sacrifices for the sake of securing full understanding, provided for a navy of certain stated strength. If we are to have that naval machine, it is necessary that it be kept in order to be ready for use; otherwise, we might just as well not have it at all. It has been provided by treaty that the American Navy should remain virtually at the strength at which it had arrived last November. That treaty does not provide for the reduction of the Navy. What it provides for is the stopping of naval competition. The battleships afloat which we had then (except old ones that have passed their usefulness) we are to have still. In addition, we are to have two new battleships. These capital ships should be manned so that they will not deteriorate and so that the officers in command of them can maneuver them. To scrap these ships to which we are entitled is to make a greater sacrifice than America can afford to make.

Congress has no right to make that sacrifice in the face of the approval which the country has obviously given to the naval treaty. If Congress should choose to impair our Navy still further, it will do precisely what an enemy would seek to do in time of war.

Public opinion in this country ought to make itself heard at Washington and demand that the Navy be let alone.

Great Britain, whose navy by treaty is equal to ours, has about 125,000 men besides many men available from the merchant marine and other services. Japan has a navy of 75,000 men besides men available outside the naval service itself. Congress proposes to cut our Navy down to 65,000 men without supplying a reserve on which to draw.

The Navy Department has reluctantly proposed that the personnel of our Navy be fixed at about 90,000. That reduces the personnel to what we regard as a perilous minimum. If Congress wants to make any change from the recommendation of the Navy Department, it should increase that number. We recommend a careful reading of Captain Overstreet's article in this issue.

FREE SEEDS VS. THE ARMY

OBVIOUSLY, the most important element in our National defense at the present time is the Navy. With a Navy of the size permitted by the Armament Conference, a Navy fully and properly manned, the United States, faced by hostilities, would probably have the expensive opportunity to build up its military forces, as we did in the last war behind the screen of Allied protection. But even if Congress should supply us with such a Navy, that fact would not justify us in permitting our Army to deteriorate into inadequacy.

The General Staff and the President have asked for a total strength of 150,000 men. The present Appropriation Bill now pending in Congress provides only for an enlisted strength of 115,000 men.

When the great cuts in the size of the Army were made after the war, it was expected that a reserve force could be built up, the existence of which would justify cutting down the size of our standing army. On paper we now have some 65,000 reserve officers, but the pending bill would permit calling for annual training only some 33 officers in each State. Without adequate provision for such training, interest in the reserve corps will disappear, and with the passage of time the knowledge gained by these men in the World War will be lost. The appropriation for their training under the present bill is $250,000, just about twice what the House of Representatives is asking for the distribution of free seeds for our farmers. Practically all agricultural authorities are in agreement that the only crop raised from such seeds is that which Congress expects to harvest on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. While Congress makes such appropriations contrary to the advice of the Budget Director, the loud protests which it makes concerning its desire for economy in military appropriation will not carry much weight with the public.

DEATH OF CHARLES I

CHARLES I, last of the Hapsburg rulers of Austria and Hungary, died in exile in Madeira, April 1. His death does not remove all possibility of further monarchistic ambitions in the Hapsburg family, for his six children and his wife, the former Empress Zita, survive him. Charles I came to the throne after the death of the aged Franz Joseph in 1916. His possession of the dual crown lasted through the troublous days which led to the break-up of his Empire. He was responsible for secret negotiations through Prince Sixtus which looked towards a separation from the German alliance. A month before the end of the war Hungary, under

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Count Karolyi, broke away from the Hapsburgs in a bloodless revolution and became a free and independent state. The example of Hungary was followed by other provinces under the rule of the house of Hapsburg. Charles finally renounced all his rights of participation in Hungarian affairs three days after the armistice. Twice since then he made attempts to regain his throne; the second attempt, in October, 1921, resulted in his exile to Madeira.

IRELAND: FIRST LAW AND ORDER, THEN POLITICAL HARMONY

Two events of importance in Irish history have recently taken place. One was the approval by King George of the treaty reached in London four months ago between representatives of Great Britain and Southern Ireland. So far as Great Britain is concerned, therefore, the treaty is now law; in Ireland the Free State to be established under the treaty is as yet only semi-existent. It has been approved officially by the Sinn Fein through its general council, the Dail Eireann, but it is still to be ratified by popular vote in Southern Ireland. Meanwhile Michael Collins is provisional head of the Provisional Free State, and has a Provisional Cabinet. But, while a majority vote of the Dail Eireann approved the treaty, that majority was not large. The minority under the leadership of De Valera is fighting hard politically against the Free State and for an Irish Republic, and it maintains an army of its own. It is probable, but not certain, that the treaty and the resultant Free State will be approved when submitted to the voters of Southern Ireland, and this is expected to take place by the end of May. After the Free State is established, Ulster will have a month to decide whether it will unite politically with Southern Ireland or maintain a separate existence as what would practically be a crown colony under British overrule.

Of late, however, the criminal side of the Irish question has been more salient even than the political side. Belfast has been the scene of scores of outrageous crimes of violence, the larger number committed by Protestants against Catholics; there have been incursions by Catholic Sinn Fein adherents into Ulster from the South; the crimes have unhappily taken more and more the aspect of a war between religious factions and fanatics.

It was this condition that led to the calling of a new conference in London. It was attended by Michael Collins, head of the provisional Free State; Sir James Craig, head of the Home Rule Ulster Government; and Arthur Griffith, head of the still existing Sinn Fein Dail Eireann. The result was highly gratifying, and the feeling is general that the agreement may do away with the intolerable conditions as to sporadic crimes of violence, and that it may aid materially in inducing a state of feeling that will help the final settlement of the Irish political questions in a way satisfactory to all parties concerned.

Michael Collins declared of this agreement: "We have reached an agreement upon which the North and South can work together; an agreement which banishes passion from the horizon and stops mutual murder. The primary cause of the conference was to put an end to murder, and it was for that purpose I came to London—I think we have accomplished our aim."

It is a notable fact that the terms of the agreement clearly indicate that the criminal situation has resulted from perverted sectarian hatred. Over and over again the articles use the words Catholic and Protestant as indicative of the hostile parties, and detailed arrangements are made whereby an equal number of Catholic and Protestant police officers shall be appointed to keep peace together and search for arms, while the activities of military and magistrates are provided for on the same kind of bi-religious basis.

Winston Churchill declares, for the British Government, that Ulster in particular has rendered "a supreme service to both Great Britain and Ireland" in entering the new agreement. That criminal acts will altogether cease can hardly be expected; in fact, only a few days after the agreement was reached the cable despatches reported harrowing instances of the slaughter of women and children. It is confidently hoped, however, that the stringent and impartial measures devised under the new agreement will ultimately stamp out ancient feuds lately fanned into fire and aid materially in bringing about unity and harmony in Ireland.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE DECLARE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR PREMIERS

On the same day last week the British House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies overwhelmingly voted their approbation of Lloyd George and Poincaré, respectively. The two political leaders therefore go to the Genoa Conference with free hands within the limits of their own exposition of the purpose and programme of that Conference. In the British Parliament the Government had introduced a resolution approving the programme agreed upon by the Supreme Council at Cannes and promising that the Government would be supported in giving effect to this resolution. This vote of confidence was adopted by a majority of 372 to 94 after the House had defeated by not far from the same vote the Labor Party's amendment, which with true British bluntness declared that the present Government (which practically means Lloyd George) "is not competent to represent this country" at the Conference.

The result was hardly in doubt at any time; but it was good political tactics to bring the matter to an issue, so that the Prime Minister could go to Genoa feeling that the people of England understood thoroughly his views and purposes. Lloyd George's personal triumph was great. His address was one of the most notable in his career. He did not indulge in fiery rhetoric, but his exposition had the common-sense air and clearness of statement that have so often served to convince Parliament that it was ready to stand behind him in his international policies.

Lloyd George indulged in a little persiflage and humor in his introductory remarks. For instance, he said he had been assured that the coalition was dying, and added: "Well, perhaps I may therefore have the privilege of a dying Minister to give my last words of advice. I don't know who will succeed us. I cannot even predict that the character—I should say the complexion—of it will be piebald." This he followed with some amusing references to the supposed press support which this imaginary Government would receive.

Possibly this was not in the very best of taste, but it led to a notable passage on the value and necessity of international conferences. Lloyd George urged the successors of his Ministry (if there should be successors) not to tie their hands about conferences, adding:

> The world is so battered, so bruised, so crushed, and there are so many injuries to its vital organs that its recovery will be a slow one and it will need many consultations of its leading physicians; and therefore I entreat those who look forward to sharing in party responsibilities—and there are a good many of them—not to limit themselves in advance as to their importance when they come to deal with the state of Europe and the world by condemning the only rational process short of force for bringing the world gradually back to something like normal conditions, and from normal conditions to something that is better.

The point upon which interest was centered was the relation of Russia to the Conference and to Great Britain. This Lloyd George analyzed in great detail. Loud applause greeted his statement that, whatever action the Genoa Conference might take as to Russia, "it

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would involve no further recognition until the Commons approved—none."

The Prime Minister laid stress on Lenine's utterance last November to the effect that the Communists "have suffered an economic defeat on the economic front—an extremely heavy defeat," and Lenine's conclusion that capital must be re-established to a certain extent. This Lloyd George declared to be a condemnation of Lenine's own doctrine and a reversal of policy.

Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that nothing like diplomatic recognition of Russia would or should take place until it had been preceded by the establishment of relations through vice-consuls as to commercial questions and until Great Britain was assured that Russia was worthy of full recognition. Again he declared with great earnestness that there would be "no change in representation or the extent of diplomatic recognition of Russia until ratified by the House of Commons."

Poincaré's victory was almost as great. Confidence was voted in his foreign policy by a majority of 484 to 78. Throughout the debate it was urged that the French people and the Chamber of Deputies expect France to withdraw from Genoa if the Conference makes any attempt to revise the treaties as regards reparations, to reduce France's army, or to recognize Russia without full guaranties.

EASTER

ON Herbert Spencer's last visit to this country some scientific gentlemen invited him to a farewell dinner. Henry Ward Beecher was the last speaker. His appointed theme was "Science and Religion." When he rose to speak, the hour was approaching midnight; circumstances were certainly not favorable to a religious impression, but a profoundly religious impression was made. Taking from his pocket a little Bible which he habitually carried with him, announcing himself a convinced evolutionist and a believer that man had ascended from a previous animal, he read some verses from the Seventh Chapter of Romans, and led his hearers up to his conclusion that man is an animal, but *more than an animal*, and when he sat down the before cold, if not apathetic, diners rose to their feet and cheered him to the echo.

Man is an animal and came from an animal, but he is more than an animal. It is this life that is more than an animal that makes him immortal; and it is not merely immortality, but this more than animal life which carries with it immortality, that Christ by his life even more than by his teaching has brought to light. But in that teaching he habitually recognized in man that "more than animal," and to that "more than animal" he constantly appealed. He recognized it in the fallen woman when he bade her go and sin no more. He recognized it in the brigand at his side when he said to him, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Light is thrown back upon his teaching by the teaching of some of his disciples in our own time and land: Channing, who taught that there is some element of goodness in all men; Bushnell, who taught that depravity is not natural but contranatural; Finney, who taught that all men can choose the good and eschew the evil.

Immortality is not merely length of days. It is a quality of life, a deathless life, the life in man that is "more than animal." The resurrection of Jesus Christ was not an extraordinary event. It was an extraordinary evidence of an ordinary event. Every death is a resurrection; for death is simply the separation of the body and the spirit. The body we commit to the ground—earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; the spirit we commit to God, who gave it. The body has fulfilled its function and sinks into the grave to be seen no more. The spirit rises, invisible but immortal. Death has not extinguished it, but released it. Even pessimistic philosophy recognizes this truth. "A sure feeling," says Schopenhauer, "informs every one that there is something in him which is absolutely imperishable and indestructible."

It is pagan teaching which identifies the man with his body, and therefore identifies immortality with bodily resurrection. It is pagan philosophy which ignores or forgets the "more than animal" in man and imagines that the spirit is buried with the body. John Fiske has stated with characteristic clearness the teaching of science on this subject. He writes:

> The materialistic assumption that the life of the soul ends with the life of the body is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy. No evidence for it can be alleged beyond the familiar fact that during the present life we know Soul only in its association with Body, and therefore cannot discover disembodied soul without dying ourselves. . . . With his illegitimate hypothesis of annihilation, the materialist transgresses the bounds of experience quite as widely as the poet who sings of the New Jerusalem with its river of life and its streets of gold. Scientifically speaking, there is not a particle of evidence for either view.

There is, however, this difference: the poet knows that he is singing poetry; the materialist imagines that he is teaching philosophy.

Whither does the ascending spirit go? I do not know. The Bible does not tell us, for the Bible is not written to gratify our curiosity respecting another life, but to teach us and inspire us to live worthily in this life. Its pictures are poetry, not philosophy.

And the Bible writers did not know and could not know. We cannot know. For knowledge is confined within the bounds which experience sets for it. Could the seed, if it were conscious, know while buried in the ground what the flower will be in the world of air and sunshine? Can the caterpillar know the joys of flight on which it will enter when it leaves the cocoon? Can the little girl playing with her dolls form any conception of the joys of motherhood?

We commit the spirits of our departing friends to the Father. In Whittier's words:

> I know not where His islands lift
> Their fronded palms in air;
> I only know I cannot drift
> Beyond His love and care.

To one who has faith in that love and care this knowledge is enough.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

GREAT men often render great service to their age and neither they nor their age are conscious of it. Edward Everett Hale was not a theologian; but he unconsciously rendered a great service to theology.

When he was born, a hundred years ago, Puritan divines drew a sharp distinction between "natural virtues" and "supernatural virtues." Natural virtues did not count—only supernatural virtues were esteemed by Calvinistic theology. "Dan," said one of these ministers to young Daniel Bliss, "you are the most dangerous boy in town." "Why, what evil have I done?" "None; that is the trouble. If you were drunk half the time, your influence would not be so bad."

To-day this unscriptural, irrational, immoral distinction is no longer preached in most of our pulpits or recognized in our communities. Virtue is virtue whether it is labeled natural or supernatural. Among the prophets of the past century, few exercised a wider or wiser influence in bringing about this change than Edward Everett Hale.

He was not an agnostic. He has left a graphic account of the mystical influence which brought to him as a young

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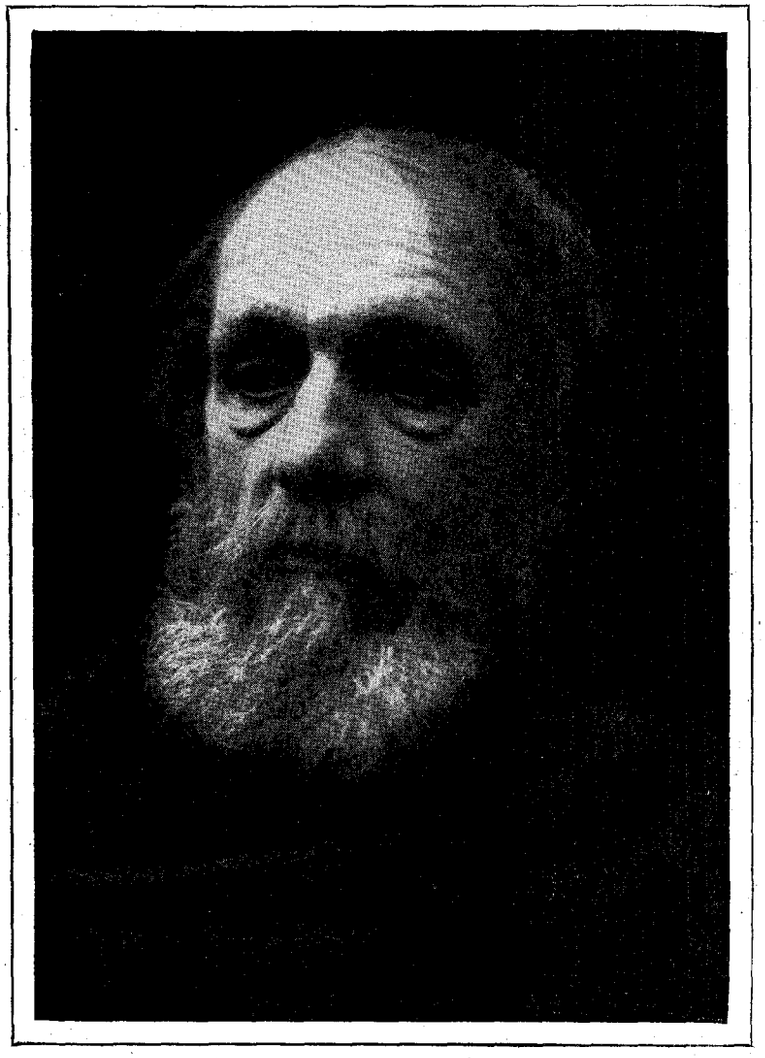

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

man the experience of the presence of God. He wrote, describing it: "He is here, I am here. We are together. And it is a companionship much closer than I could have with any human being sitting in that chair." This experience never left him. In his famous motto, which has passed into a world currency, "Lend a hand" was mated with "Look up, not down."

The Puritan divines got their theology from Paul, though they misinterpreted him. Edward Everett Hale got his theology from John. It was John who reported Jesus as saying, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." It was John who wrote: "Hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments;" and later in the same Epistle, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

This is an application of the principle of modern psychology to the spiritual life. In education we proceed from a knowledge of the known to a knowledge of the unknown. In our spiritual life we also proceed from understanding love of the known to understanding love of the unknown. There is more of the spirit of Christ in an age which maintains hospitals for the sick and public schools for the ignorant than in an age which builds cathedrals to worship Christ and at the same time maintains an Inquisition in Spain and drives Nonconformists into exile from England.

Doubtless one may come from an experience of the love of God to an experience of love for his fellow-men. But also doubtless he may come from an experience of love for his fellow-men into an experience of the love of God. And this is the most normal and natural method.

The influence which Edward Everett Hale exerted in bringing about in the last century a recognition of this truth has been too little recognized even by his admirers.

THE GENIUS OF IRELAND

ON another page in this issue we report the agreement entered into by Sir James Craig representing Ulster, Mr. Michael Collins representing the Irish Free State, and Mr. Winston Churchill representing the British Government. This agreement is an endeavor to establish a *modus vivendi* which will enable the Irish Free State in the South, standing for self-government, and the Ulsterites in the North, standing for political and economic union with England, to work peacefully towards a settlement of their antago nisms and controversies. There is much to justify the hope that this *modus vivendi* will be successful if the extreme, intractable Republicans of South Ireland do not destroy it. There is no great movement of political reform, as Theodore Roosevelt once said of the Progressive party, without a lunatic fringe. This fringe of Irish lunatics both in Ireland and in the United States are doing all they can to interfere with and destroy the free development of Ireland.

For two reasons it should be the ardent hope of every American liberal that Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, representing the Free State, may carry the public opinion and support of the South of Ireland with them.

First, if the Irish question is taken out of English politics and becomes a matter of domestic controversy and settlement, it will be taken, *ipso facto*, out of American politics. When the Irish cease to fight England and divert their pugnacious faculties to factional fighting among themselves, the intransigeant politicians in the United States can no longer involve this country, as they have done so often in the past, in difficulties with Great Britain.

The second reason is not a political reason at all, but is connected with the general intellectual and spiritual advance of modern civilization. For three hundred years the Irish have devoted their genius and capacities to political controversy, and their genius and capacities are not fitted for political administration. The Irish genius is preeminently a genius of poetry, music, drama, and mystical, imaginative literature. The Irish are the only modern people who are still creating folk tales and folk songs. No one who has even the most superficial knowledge of the work of Yeats, Singe, Lady Gregory, and James Stephens can fail to realize that the Irish genius can temper modern materialism with a very delightful and refreshing mystical imagination.

We are entering upon an industrial

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and economic phase of civilization. Unless some race or people contributes to modern development the element of faith in the mystical dreams and experiences of life which are sometimes mistakenly called supernatural, we shall all become as hard and unpleasant and perhaps as muddle-headed as the Bolsheviki in Russia. We do hope that the time is soon coming when Irish whimsy, Irish affection, and Irish emotion, that play back and forth over the dark and frowning events of life like the sunlight on the thunder-clouds of a June day, may have a better opportunity than they have at present to color and warm the literature of the English-speaking peoples—a literature which tends to-day to run too much in the rough ruts of realism.

BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA

THE wisdom of Secretary Hughes in declining to have the United States Government represented at the Genoa Conference because the Bolshevik Government of Russia is to be one of the participants is becoming more and more clear. Mr. Hughes refuses any official recognition of the Bolshevik Government until that Government by adequate acts gives assurances of "the recognition of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor." It is clear that the Bolshevik Government can give no such guaranties because it rests absolutely upon the capricious and violent destruction of persons and property. If any reader of these lines thinks that assertion is the prejudiced expression of a reactionary capitalist, let such a one read the articles by Emma Goldman now appearing in the New York "World," or, better yet, an article in "Harper's Magazine" for April, by Nicholas D. Avksentiev, entitled "The Russia of To-Morrow." Emma Goldman is an extremely violent advocate of the overthrow of capitalism who was deported from this country under the Espionage Act. She finds that the Bolshevist Government is a more despotic enemy than even the Czar to social-democratic development. In one of her articles she gives a pathetic account of her visit to Peter Kropotkin, one of the most gentle and lovable of the Russian revolutionists, whose death was hastened by the privation and horror which he suffered under the ruthless autocracy of Bolshevism. In the New York "World" for Monday, April 3, Emma Goldman quotes Kropotkin as saying to her in the spring of 1920 that after the overthrow of the despotism of the Czar "the people knew that something tremendous was before them which they themselves must face, organize, and direct. That spirit, though now fettered by hunger, privation, and persecution, is yet very much alive. The dogged resistance offered by the people of Russia to the Bolshevik yoke is the best proof of that. The Bolsheviki in their march to power were far from being the advance-guard of the Revolution, as they claim. On the contrary, they were the dam which had thrown back the rising tide of the people's energies."

This view of the greedy, selfish, ruthless, and despotic character of Lenine, Trotsky, and their associates is expressed very clearly by Mr. Avksentiev's article in "Harper's Magazine" entitled "The Russia of To-Morrow." Mr. Avksentiev has for nearly a quarter of a century been a leader of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. He was expelled from Russia by the Bolshevists, and has been working in Paris as the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Russian Constituent Assembly. Last winter, in company with Professor Miliukov, he visited this country, and last January made a joint statement with Professor Miliukov in the pages of The Outlook regarding the hope of Russian liberals and democrats for the overthrow of Bolshevik despotism. His article in "Harper's" gives some extraordinary statistics on the industrial and social deterioration of Russia under Bolshevism. He believes that the hope of Russia lies in the peasantry. When the Bolshevik incubus is thrown off, Mr. Avksentiev looks forward to a rapid recuperation in Russia:

> A sound, mature peasantry is the economic and social foundation of the whole edifice of the Russian state. Upon this solid foundation, after the passing of the present evil days, will be reared a sound and free industrial system, with sound and prosperous classes of labor and bourgeoisie. The spiritual and intellectual formulation of this fact will be supplied by the "brains" of the nation, the *intelligentsia*. And no matter how much these classes of the population have been crushed down, they are already in many respects undergoing the same evolution as the peasantry—a process of spiritual and political growth. . . .
>
> Russia's misfortune prior to the revolution consisted in the poor development of her productive resources, of her industry. But it is due to this very fact that Russia's chief resources are not on the surface, but still in the bowels of the earth. Destruction, therefore, has failed to reach the most important economic resources of the country—her mineral wealth, boundless forests, and most fertile sections of land. The exploitation of all this wealth is left to the future. And therein—combined with the energy of the people and a rational system of work—lies the possibility of the rapid recovery of that richest of countries. Under conditions of free labor and individual initiative, and with the vigorous cooperation of the whole nation, Russia will be able to march forward on the road of economic evolution in seven-league boots.

The establishment of a freely elected Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage and a secret ballot, a democratic method which the Bolsheviki have fought and suppressed by violence, assassination, and expulsion, is the first step towards the regeneration of Russia. When such a Constituent Assembly is created in Russia, then, and only then, will the American people be eager to recognize the Russian Government.

WHAT THE FOREST SERVICE DOES

THE CHIEF OF THE SERVICE REPLIES TO AN ATTACK

NOT long ago, in commenting on the proposal to place the Forest Service, now a part of the Department of Agriculture, under the control of the Department of the Interior, The Outlook pointed out editorially that it is to the Forest Service, established about fifteen years ago under the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, that this country owes the radical reformation of a most discreditable system of wasteful and destructive treatment of American forests. It has been under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture that this change has taken place. We pointed out in the editorial referred to that there is a close and intimate relation between forestry and agriculture, and that to raise a crop of trees and care for that crop and harvest its surplus is as truly an agricultural operation as to supervise and encourage the raising of wheat. The transfer to the Interior Department, now proposed, is based largely on the fact that the forests owned by the Government are on public lands and that other public lands are in the care of the Interior Department. The argument seems to us specious, and our view is held, we believe, by the ex-

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perts and specialists who know what the Forest Service has done and is doing under the present arrangement.

One result of our comment on forestry matters has been to bring us copies of valuable letters that have passed between Mr. G. N. Haugen, the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the lower house; Colonel Greeley, the present Forester (that is, chief of the Forest Service); and Mr. J. W. McKay, a member of the largest firm of logging operators in Alaska.

The occasion of Mr. Haugen's letter to Colonel Greeley was a paragraph in a Washington newspaper, the "Post." This paragraph picturesquely, but quite unfairly, formulates concisely the charges brought against the present Forest Service. It reads as follows:

> The Forest Service dictates the course of roads within the National Forests, and prevents the construction of highways which are required in the public welfare. It halts a farmer's cow in search of a drink of water at a spring lying a few feet within a Forest area. It denies to a pioneering farmer the right to acquire a few feet of timber adjoining his homestead. It sells off the timber on a mining claim, denying the timber to the miner, who must send sometimes thousands of miles for a few sticks of timber which might have been cut from his own claim. It disposes of timber to foreign countries at a time when domestic needs are unsupplied. It does not create additional forest to replace that which is cut, but clings to lands which are not forested at all, and refuses to permit them to be opened for homes.

Not unnaturally, Colonel Greeley resented these charges. His letter in reply is a clear and complete defense of the Forest Service against the attacks which have been centered upon it by those who for some reason are anxious to transfer the bureau from a place where it has made so fine a record to a totally different environment—and that chiefly, so far as we can judge, because of a purely theoretical argument. We think it eminently worth while to present the statement in full to our readers. Colonel Greeley's letter follows:

March 16, 1922.

Hon. Gilbert N. Haugen,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
My dear Mr. Haugen:

Your letter of March 13 is received. The statements which you quote from the Washington "Post" editorial of March 13 are completely erroneous. In the West, where the work of the Forest Service is better known than in the East, such statements would refute themselves. In compliance with your request, I am glad to give you the facts, as follows:

The "Post" says the Forest Service dictates the course of roads within the National Forests. On the contrary, ninety per cent of the road projects within the Forests constructed with the aid of Federal funds were proposed in the first instance by the States, counties, or communities. Federal expenditures on these roads to date total nearly $17,000,000. Local agencies have added largely to these funds, for joint expenditure on co-operative projects. Public roads may be built in the National Forests anywhere by local agencies without even asking Forest Service approval of the project or the location of the road.

The "Post" says the Forest Service prevents the construction of highways that are required in the public welfare. If this means State, county, or municipal highways, the statement is answered above. If it is founded on the statement, recently made, that the Forest Service refuses to connect its roads with roads that open up the National Parks, the answer is that the Service has gone to the extreme in diverting funds to such projects.

The "Post" says that the Service halts a farmer's cow in search of a drink of water at a spring lying a few feet within a Forest area. The statement is wholly ridiculous. Local settlers are allowed to graze milch cows and work horses on the National Forests free of charge without permit or formality of any kind. The whole grazing policy of the Forest Service favors the settler and requires large owners to make room for newcomers who develop ranches within or near the Forests.

The "Post" says that the Service denies to a pioneering farmer the right to acquire a few feet of timber adjoining his homestead. On the contrary, it makes special provision for the needs of such farmers by allowing them free use and through sales at cost. Since 1905 over 1,600,000,000 board feet of timber have been given without charge to settlers and prospectors, and from 35,000 to 40,000 people obtain free timber every year. The Service also reserves timber supplies and grows new timber to meet the future needs of settlers.

The "Post" says that the Forest Service sells off the timber on mining claims, denying the timber to the miner. This is untrue. Timber is sold from no mining claims recognized as valid by the Interior Department. Sometimes claims are located after timber has been disposed of by the Government under a contract with a purchaser. These locations are often attempts at hold-ups. Such mining claimants acquire no legal right to interfere with the cutting, and the Forest Service therefore upholds the right of the purchaser to the timber.

The "Post" says that the miner must sometimes send thousands of miles for a few sticks of timber which might have been cut from his own claim. This also is untrue. Under the Forest Service methods of cutting, enough timber usually remains on the ground to supply all local needs for development purposes. Further, the Forest Service perpetuates local timber supplies for the benefit of miners, as of settlers, so that they may not have to import timber from distant regions or be subject to hold-up charges from private monopolizers of local supplies.

The "Post" says that the Service disposes of timber to foreign countries. It disposes of no timber to foreign countries, has repeatedly refused to make sales to foreign corporations, and is assiduously carrying out the purpose of the law which says that the Forests are established "to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States." To the extent that exports of lumber bought on the open market take place, the question is one for Congress, not the Forest Service, which has nothing to do with export laws and foreign trade relations.

The "Post" says the Forest Service does not create additional forest to replace that which is cut. On the contrary, provision for reforestation is a fundamental part of all timber sales except on lands which are to be cleared and opened to settlement because of their agricultural value.

The "Post" says that the Forest Service clings to lands which are not forested at all, and refuses to permit them to be opened for homes. The Service asked the enactment of the law which made homesteading possible in the National Forests, has opened over 210,000 homesteads to entry under that law, and during the past twelve years has eliminated some 26,000,000 acres of land from the Forests because they had less value for forest purposes than for agriculture or other uses.

The "Post" says that Alaska is locked up, a useless treasure house. At the time that the present National Forests in Alaska were established eighty-six per cent of the timber used in southern Alaska was imported. At the present time eighty-six per cent comes from the National Forests of the Territory. What is now imported from the continental United States is material for purposes to which the local species are not well adapted. In ten years 420,000,000 board feet of timber has been sold by the Forest Service from the Alaska Forests. High-grade spruce lumber from them is exported to the States, and the manufacture of paper pulp in them has begun. They are not locked up; they are paying over $100,000 a year into the Treasury of the United States, are contributing over $25,000 a year to local school and road funds, and are furnishing local residents and industries with timber for buildings, mines, wharves, fish traps, boxes for shipping canned fish, and similar purposes. Residents of southern Alaska are now expressing hearty approval of the way the Forest Service has handled the Forests. As an indication of what operators who are logging timber there think, I inclose a letter which recently came to me, entirely unsolicited, from the largest logging concern in the Territory. As you will note, this concern has grown from very small be-

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ginnings solely on National Forest operations.

These are by no means all the misstatements made in the "Post" editorial, which shows on its face that its writer was wholly destitute of knowledge of the methods and results of National Forest administration. Many of the allegations are revivals of old charges current from ten to fifteen years ago, when the work of the Forest Service was new and the objects sought not generally understood. There were then in the West many opponents of the National Forest system, and much agitation was conducted with a view to breaking it down. But the work has long since established itself in public approval, and opposition has been replaced by public confidence and support. The day is long past when the viewpoint expressed in the editorial has any possibility of general public acceptance. The National Forest policy is too strongly bulwarked in popular approval in the regions where its practical value has been demonstrated to be overthrown on false charges.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) W. B. GREELEY, Forester.

Finally, the efficiency of the Forest Service in its business dealings is shown by the letter of approval to which Mr. Greeley refers. It is from Mr. McKay and is dated at Ketchikan, Alaska. In this the writer tells what Alaskan firms generally think of Forest Service methods and men. He declares that the bureau has "been an encouragement in building up the timber industry" and that Alaskans want no change. Now the development of Alaskan timber resources is by no means a matter of purely private business. That economic and encouraging systems of dealing with the enormous sales of timber by the Government should prevail is a vital element in Alaskan economic progress. Mr. McKay shows how the Forest Service has acted patiently and intelligently both to preserve the interest and returns of the Government in these large undertakings, but at the same time to aid the logging operators to work economically. The general result has been profitable to both parties, and is shown in the following sentences from Mr. McKay's letter:

"We have not found the timber regulations impractical and have not been delayed by red tape. We have always got good service. You have practical men here who know timber and logging. In our fourteen years of logging we have not once found it necessary to appeal from the local Forest Supervisor's decision, which we have a right to do under our contracts. . . .

"We think the Forest Service has the right method of handling Government timber, and that no other bureau is as well qualified to make the rules and do the work, as your men are trained along this special line. A machine working as smoothly as the Forest Service should not be tampered with. If men who do not know timber and logging methods are placed in charge of things, they might put a system into effect that would ruin the timber business here."

The correspondence makes a favorable impression and goes far to confirm our opinion previously expressed that the Forest Service is in good hands and that it ought not to be tossed about from department to department without extremely strong evidence that such a course is demanded by the public interest.

A MUSIC-MAKER FOR THE MOVIES

BY FULLERTON WALDO

I HAVE just been talking with a young pianist whose business it is to play eighteen times a week—that is, three times each day on the six weekdays—for the moving pictures. He is not an accompanist, deft of finger and quick of eye to follow the voiceless permutations on the screen. He is a virtuoso, a soloist, an artist. He goes on a circuit of the houses in control of a single company, and he plays at intermissions between the news reel and the feature picture, or the feature picture and the comedy, as the case may be. Sometimes he plays alone, sometimes he appears with others. To-day his face shone with pleasure.

"We played the Arensky trio," he announced, "and a movement from the Mendelssohn trio; and we got away with it."

"What else do you play of the better class of music?"

"Well, I did part of the Grieg piano concerto with the orchestra. And with a violinist I played Sarasate's 'Zigeunerweisen.' We played it so often we became lax and indifferent. It's a great temptation, when you do the same thing over and over again, to become mechanical and play in a blind blur.

"One afternoon, as we were about to begin, a young woman I know, a violinist, came down to the front row, and as she took her seat she waved a friendly greeting.

"'Brace up, old man!' I whispered to my colleague. 'There's Polly Thayer. She knows the difference. She's a fine violinist—a pupil of Auer. We must play our best.' We both braced up and played as well as we could.

"You must choose something that will wear, or you will grow sick of it with the incessant repetition."

"How high is the average level of musical intelligence among your audiences?" I asked. "Do you ever deliberately play down to them?"

He looked serious. "The manager is very sensitive as to what gets over and what doesn't. He comes to me and tells me. I can play good things now and then. But I have to do more of the popular and hackneyed things than I like."

"The 'Rigoletto' paraphrase?"

"Yes, I do that, because the crowd falls for it. A large number of those present insist that the music must be noisy and fast—somewhere."

"Can you do Wagner?"

"Yes; but I'm up against the time limit with most of the things that are playable to such a gathering.

"I'd like to do the Godowsky paraphrase of Strauss's 'Blue Danube,' but it would take such lots of study, which I haven't time to give. I have lately done the 'Concert Waltz' of Friml and Liszt's 'Liebestraum.'.

"One of the things that made a big hit was the fantasy on 'Turkey in the Straw,' by Guyon, which Percy Grainger plays. I was surprised to find that a certain trick brought down the house. If I played a run in the usual way, nobody noticed it. If I made a sweep up the keyboard with my thumbnail, in flamboyant, exaggerated style, it brought a roar of laughter, and the manager was pleased.

"I have to think of the flapper. Saturday afternoon the schoolgirls come in droves. I put lots of tonic on my hair that day—to make it shine the way Rudolph Valentino's hair does, just like shoe polish.

"Yes, it's a struggle," the bright-eyed youngster went on. "But I'm sure it's a winning fight. I have to have an eye to the main chance to-day. But some day I shall play the things I care about. And did you notice that during the strike in New York the Capitol Theater gave single acts of opera, with just piano and organ, so successfully that it was turning 'em away?

"And now what do you think I'm invited to do? A 'cellist I know wants me to go with him to Japan. He says there's a great appetite there for Occidental music. Some of the Japanese have learned to like it; some of them want to hear it because they want to be up to the minute in music, as in everything else. One of the big nabobs wrote to my friend the 'cellist: 'Better bring your own accompanist, as we are not yet sufficiently evangelized.' Won't it be great, if I can go?"

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SPIRITUALS

BY LOUISE AYRES GARNETT

GWINE UP TER HEAB'N

I's gwine up ter heab'n in a cloud o' fiah,
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
I's boun' ter keep a-mountin' 'til I cain't-a git no highah,
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
De elements 'll t'under en de elements 'll quake,
De graves 'll yawn en stretch deirsefs en all de dead 'll wake,
En de worl' 'll ketch on fiah en burn up fer Jesus' sake,
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.

Gwine up ter heab'n
In a cloud o' fiah.
Gwine up ter heab'n
'Til I cain't-a git no highah.

I's gwine up ter heab'n fer to see de Holy Ghos',
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
He's sho' ter mek me we'come, fer he am de Heab'nly Hos',
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
En w'en I' ax um howdy, en draps mah bestes' bow,
I's gwineter tell um, *Massa, I b'longs up yer, I 'low.*
You ax me fer to enter en I's in de fambly now,
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.

Gwine up ter heab'n
In a cloud o' fiah.
Gwine up ter heab'n
'Til I cain't-a git no highah.

O jubilee en glory! won' I holler wid mah might!
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
I'll blow de clouds ter nuffin en I'll stoke de stars up bright,
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.
I'll be mighty glad ter git dere, fer it's lonesome yer below.
Dere am sech a heap o' trouble wharsomever folkses go,
En I's honin' ter git settled whar I's got a right fer sho'
Gwine, gwine, gwine up ter heab'n.

Gwine up ter heab'n
In a cloud o' fiah.
Gwine up ter heab'n
'Til I cain't-a git no highah.

EV'YWHARS DAT ANYBODY KNOWS

WHAR de day am breakin',
Dar mah Jesus am.
Whar de worl' am wakin',
Dar mah Jesus am.
In de medder's brightness,
By de li'l' lamb
Skippin' in 'is w'iteness,
Dar mah Jesus am.

Ev'ywhars I goes
Dar mah Jesus am.
Ev'ywhars dat anybody knows,
Dar mah Jesus am.

Whar de noon am burnin',
Dar mah Jesus am.
Whar de w'eels am turnin',
Dar mah Jesus am.
In de mids' o' workin',
Lak a mighty psa'm,
Whar de debil's lurkin',
Dar mah Jesus am.

Ev'ywhars I goes
Dar mah Jesus am.
Ev'ywhars dat anybody knows,
Dar mah Jesus am.

Whar de dusk lie deepes',
Dar mah Jesus am.
Whar de road run steepes',
Dar mah Jesus am.
Wid de birds a-nestin'
Lovin'-lak en ca'm,
Whar de day am westin',
Dar mah Jesus am.

Ev'ywhars I goes
Dar mah Jesus am.
Ev'ywhars dat anybody knows,
Dar mah Jesus am.

SLOW EN EASY

DES go slow en easy
On yer way ter Jerdan,
Des go slow en easy
En don' git outer bref.
Den it ain' no trouble
Fer to tote yer burden.
Des go dilly-dally,
Walkin' wid yerse'f.

Slow en easy, slow en easy,
Takin' of yer time along de road.
Slow en easy leads ter Jerdan,
Saves yer back en lif's yer load.

W'en you gits ter Jerdan
Walk out on de waters
Whar de golden riber
Spa'kles in a song,
Wid dis-a-way en dat-a-way
Zion's sons en daughters
Walkin' on de riber,
Des tarryin' along.

Slow en easy, slow en easy,
Takin' of yer time along de road.
Slow en easy leads ter Jerdan,
Saves yer back en lif's yer load.

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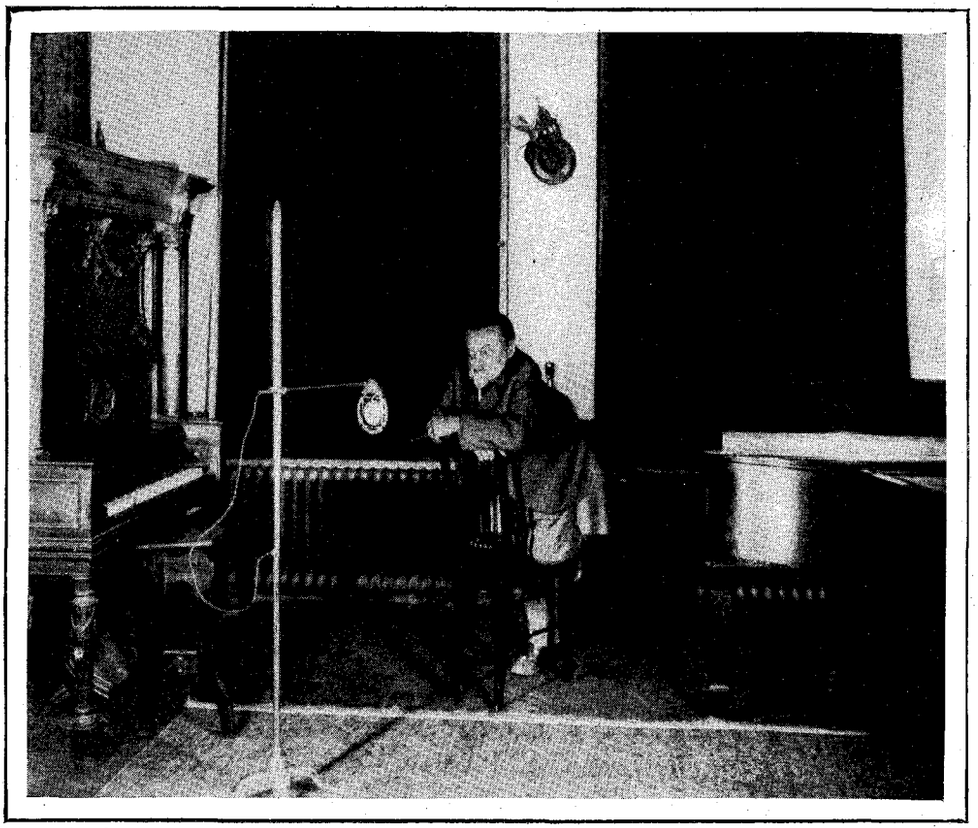
PEACE! WHAT NOISE?



International

DR. STEINMETZ EXPLAINS LIGHTNING BY RADIO

Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, chief consulting engineer of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, New York, who recently made the interesting announcement that he had succeeded in producing artificial lightning at his laboratories, is here shown speaking via the radiophone to a vast multitude of invisible listeners, to whom he explained the manner in which he evolved the experiment

(C) Keystone

A RADIOPHONE INSTALLED ON A TUGBOAT

Members of the New York Tugboat Exchange have installed radio telephones on some of their craft. Thus the crews can be edified during their leisure minutes with music, stories, and perhaps a sermon—if they have time to listen to the last-named feature of the radiophone broadcasting. The photograph shows the fireman and engineer of the tug Neutic experimenting with the newly installed apparatus

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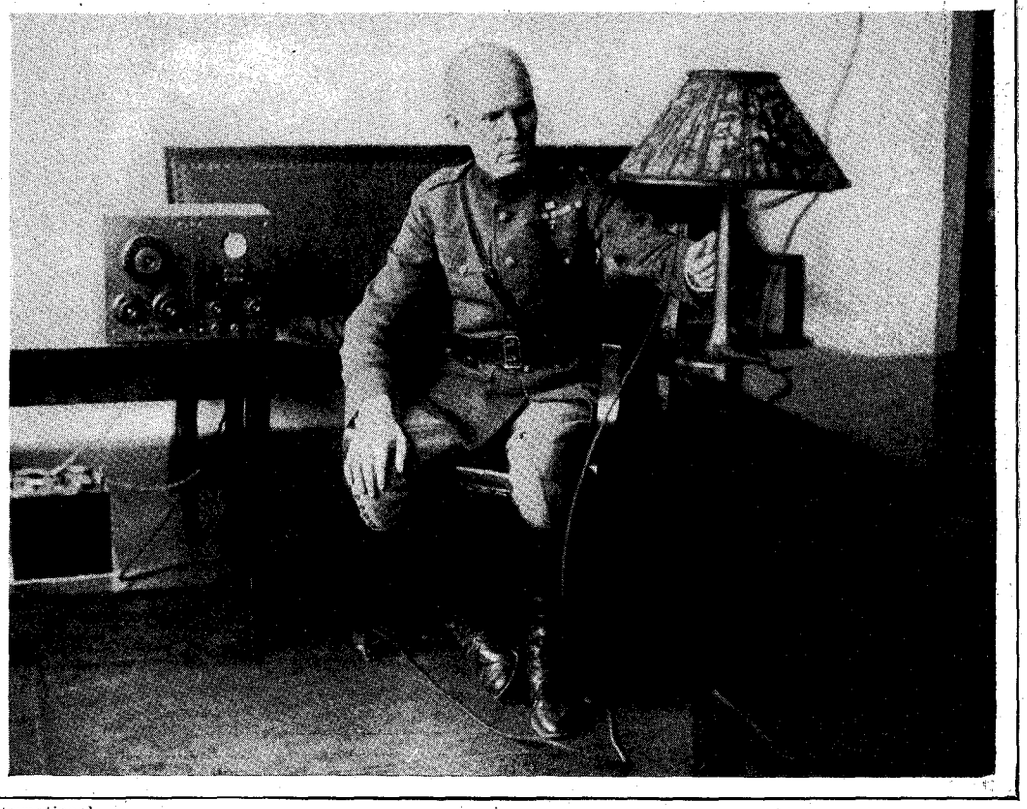
MUSIC I' THE AIR

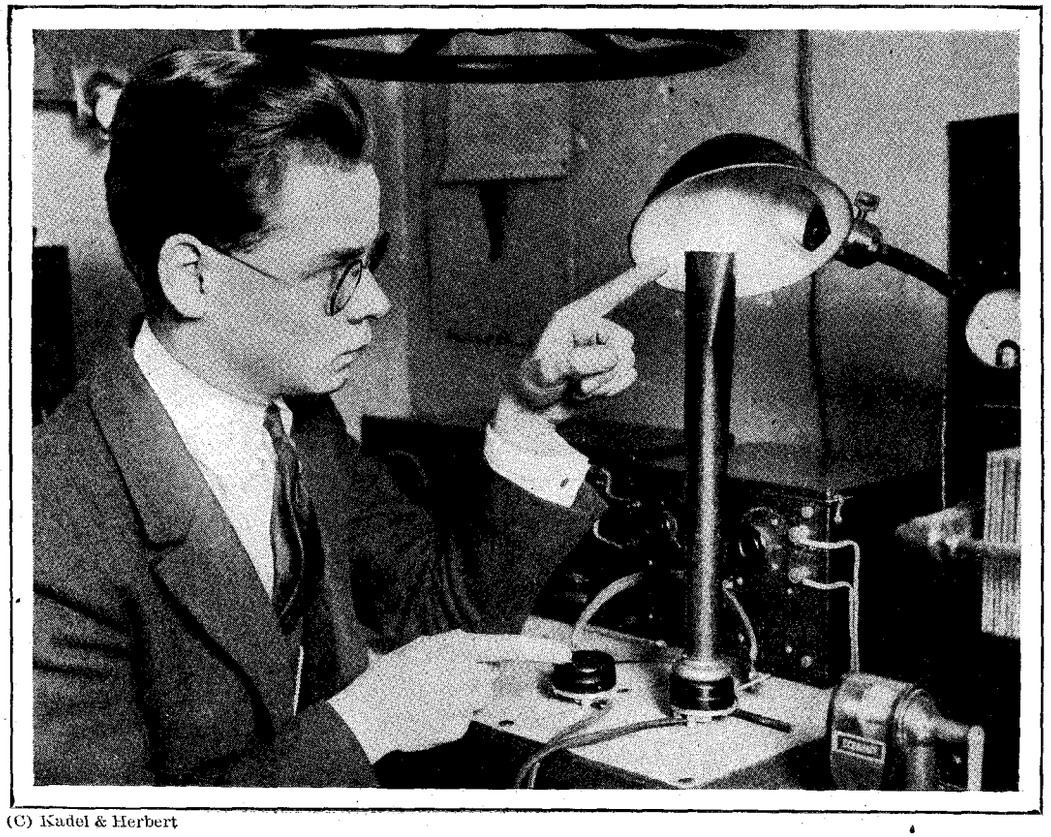
(Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV, Scene 3)

RADIO BROADCASTING OVER ELECTRIC-LIGHT WIRES

General Squier, chief of the Signal Corps of the U. S. Army, has introduced a new medium for receiving radio broadcasting, and also talking via the radiophone. The demonstration consisted of receiving news, music, and speeches over the radiophone, using the electric lamp on the desk as the aerial. The broadcasted tones were sent upon the electric-lighting mains and so carried through by means of the lamp. The usual standard receiving set and amplifier were used. The receiving plug of the radio set is placed in the bulb socket of the lamp and so completes the necessary circuit. The system is an excellent one for local broadcasting



International



(C) Kadel & Herbert

A HOME-MADE LOUD SPEAKER THAT CAN BE MADE IN TWO MINUTES

A simple device is pictured here. It is made as follows: Lay one of the receivers of your head set on the table, face up. On top of this place anything in the shape of a toy tin horn, but hollow throughout. Then unscrew the electric-light bulb from your table light and place the reflector over the horn or tin cylinder, as shown in the photograph. Then tune in and listen

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A NEW GOLDEN AGE IN PHILADELPHIA

COMMON SENSE SMOOTHS OUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STOCKHOLDERS, EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYED, AND THE PUBLIC

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY SHERMAN ROGERS

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

IN 1910 the Philadelphia Rapid Transit System was in as bad a condition financially and with regard to labor as any street railway system in America. It couldn't have been worse. If it could have been, management and men would certainly have made it so; they did the worst they knew how, under the circumstances. The entire system was hopelessly involved in politics and labor chaos, and steeped in a long, painful history of disastrous financing, with an indebtedness represented by stocks, bonds, and notes that caused the most optimistic financier to knit his brow and say, "Hopelessly involved."

1922. Same transportation system. Road considered in the best financial condition of any surface line in America; the labor situation excellent; the employees, without question, the most efficient, effective, and loyal of any surface line's in America. In these twelve years of labor and economic difficulties the system has reached the point of perfection that municipal experts have been dreaming about.

"Overdrawn? Not a bit."

I asked a Philadelphia conductor a few days ago if I was safe in making the statement that ninety-nine per cent of the workmen on the system were loyal to the management and loyal to the public. He looked at me a moment, and then replied: "Ninety-nine per cent is dead safe. In my opinion, you can make that one hundred per cent without being considered an enthusiast or a guesser. In the first place, if a man on this system is not satisfied, we either tell him the methods we work under or we make it so uncomfortable for him that he will leave of his own accord. We have everything, from a standpoint of co-operation of the management, good will of the management, and democratic government on the system, that any man in the world could wish for, and a great deal more than a vast majority of workmen in the world have."

The P. R. T. story of the last twenty years reads like a most highly colored stretch of the imagination. No man can read the facts about the P. R. T. system of management and fully appreciate what has happened unless he has talked to both the management and men; unless he has scrutinized the records from 1900 to 1911, and then turned over the last leaf of failure, of chaos, of scandal, and started reading the history of the system from 1911 to 1922, where every move, every record, bespeaks highly efficient organization, unbelievable loyalty, marvelous co-operation and achievement. The new management believes in men; has believed in them from the day it took office. Natural result: The men soon felt confidence in the management. Simply a case of the management reaping what it had sown. Sow wheat and you get wheat; sow thistles and you reap thistles; sow good will and you will get good will; sow confidence and you will reap confidence.

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INTERIOR OF A TROLLEY CAR OF THE PHILADELPHIA RAPID TRANSIT

MR. MITTEN TAKES CONTROL

Thomas E. Mitten, a remarkable leader of men, is chiefly responsible. He took the job when every one smiled. They smiled because they could not conceive that any man with common sense and ability would take hold of such a hopelessly mired institution. However, it did not seem a big job to Mr. Mitten. One man, of course, could not succeed—but *ten thousand* AND ONE *men* could do it quite readily. Mr. Mitten figured from the outset that there would be ten thousand men operating the P. R. T. instead of one. Ten thousand co-operators; co-operating with one leader.

Newspaper critics have termed the Mitten management of the P. R. T. "one-man management." Such a statement is absurd. It is one-man leadership. A leadership that is demanded by ten thousand owners and stockholders. The new signs on the P. R. T. surface cars read: "This car is run by P. R. T. stockholders, co-operating with Mitten management." That little statement tells most of the story.

I asked a motorman if Mr. Mitten was a super-man. He laughed outright. "Certainly not. Mr. Mitten is just an ordinary man with extraordinary common sense. That's all. A natural born leader, probably, but a leader simply because he realized that he could *lead* a man through fire but could not *drive* him anywhere. Wanting one hundred per cent efficiency and co-operation, he refused to become despotic or arrogant over a certain badge of authority he carried, but led and was able to lead because of his absolute fairness and thorough knowledge of the feelings, sentiments, ambitions, and ideals of every man on the pay-roll of the company he *led*."

Mr. Mitten did not gain the confidence of ten thousand employees in a day, a week, a month, or a year. He realized that he would not before he started. He realized that co-operation and confidence could be gained only through constant personal contact, and he also recognized the fact that confidence established through personal contact could be maintained only by always carrying out to the letter every promise he made. That he has done.

Going to the Quaker City in a smoking-car, a broker from Boston, who apparently was identified with public utility interests in the Bay State

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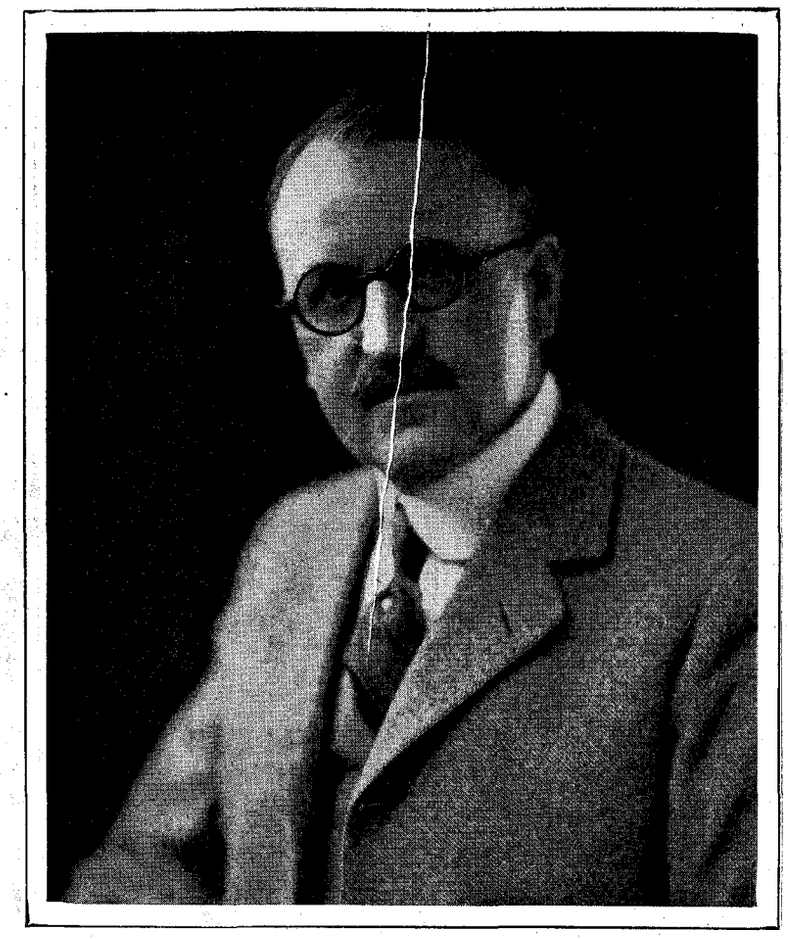
metropolis, asked me if it was not true that Mr. Mitten personally spent most of his time in overalls, running street cars, collecting fares, and spiking rails to make a "good fellow" of himself. It was my turn to laugh. Why not? This was really a good joke. Mr. Mitten *keeps* his place. There is not a paternalistic hair in his head. In fact, the first thought registered when shaking hands with Mr. Mitten is that he is an aristocrat. However, that impression is not correct. He simply believes in men, and lets them know it. He co-operates with men—on a 50–50 basis instead of a 95–5 basis. He seeks their collective advice, weighs it carefully, and places on the shoulders of each man employed by the company responsibility that he cannot shirk. It is this responsibility that has made fighting men out of P. R. T. employees—fighting men in a sense that they are willing to shoulder responsibility.

Mr. E. T. Stotesbury, a Philadelphia financier, also played a leading part. When the road became hopelessly involved in 1911, Mr. Stotesbury was requested to accept the thankless job of reorganizing both the finances of the surface line and its management. He picked Mr. Mitten, and placed him in charge as his representative. Mr. Stotesbury accepted the tremendous responsibilities involved without a dollar of salary.

The original thirty million dollars put up by stockholders had practically dropped out of sight. Both Mr. Stotesbury and Mr. Mitten were big enough to realize that workmen must be paid an adequate wage and the public given efficient service before the stockholders could be taken into account. But, like magic, order emerged. In the first seven years the stockholders received over three million dollars—a mere fraction of what they should have received, but much more than they ever expected.

Mitten, from the time he took office, started co-operating with the men. He wanted the employees to know all about the company. He believed that if they were thoroughly acquainted with conditions they would all help assume the responsibility for the restoration of a practically bankrupt system. The company agreed to give the men in wages twenty-two cents out of every dollar received on the system. This plan worked out very fairly to all concerned. When the war started, this method was changed and a four-city average instituted. The average wage paid in Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Philadelphia was the standard equation arrived at. However, in May, 1920, when wages were increased on the lines of the Western cities, it naturally meant that wages of the Philadelphia transit system would be raised accordingly. The management found, however, that the company was unable to pay this increased wage and maintain traffic on a five-cent-fare basis. It had no alternative but to ask the men to bear with it until such time as they were able to pay the increased wage, retroactive, of course, to the date of award.



THOMAS E. MITTEN, PRESIDENT PHILADELPHIA RAPID TRANSIT COMPANY

There was a great deal of disagreement in the Quaker City over the five-cent fare. The Mitten management and the employees desired to maintain the five-cent fare. An increased fare meant more money for the workers; it meant back pay; but they threw in their "lot" with the management and agreed to forego wage increases.

EMPLOYEES OFFER FINANCIAL AID

This brought on a crisis in the city. It looked for a time as if the company would not be able to finance itself. Here labor demonstrated what it is capable of doing when co-operating with the management. They went to Mr. Mitten and said:

"We want to see you through. You were far-sighted enough to make provision for all employees to save a certain amount of money in a general savings fund. This at the present time amounts to over a million dollars. You can have it without interest."

Mr. Mitten, naturally, refused the offer, but it demonstrated the extreme loyalty that had been created in the co-operative, equal-representation plan.

In the early part of the war agitators with axes to grind called a strike, but these agitators quickly learned what co-operative management meant. They were unable to tie up service for even a day, even though the lines were taxed to capacity on account of the increased service due to war industries. The War Labor Board sent an investigator, who reported that the system was working successfully and that there was no necessity of changing the system for any other class of labor organization.

From that time on the company has more firmly established itself financially. Sixteen million dollars' worth of new equipment has been added, and Philadelphia has enjoyed street-car service that the public had not dreamed of before. The co-operative plan broadened; all matters pertaining to the workmen themselves were, as a rule, handled by the workmen; they solved their own difficulties, and in practically every case wisely. This eliminated ill feeling and suspicion. Jealous of their responsibilities, they proceeded cautiously, although with collective enthusiasm.

LABOR'S AMAZING NEW TACTICS

There has always been a great deal of scandal in Philadelphia over the manner in which the road had been financed. There is no doubt but that millions of dollars were invested for which there were no tangible assets. But investors had put in their money in good faith, and the ten thousand employees of the system decided that every one who had invested should get his money. They also agreed that before they received any direct benefits it was necessary that they shoulder these obligations in total;

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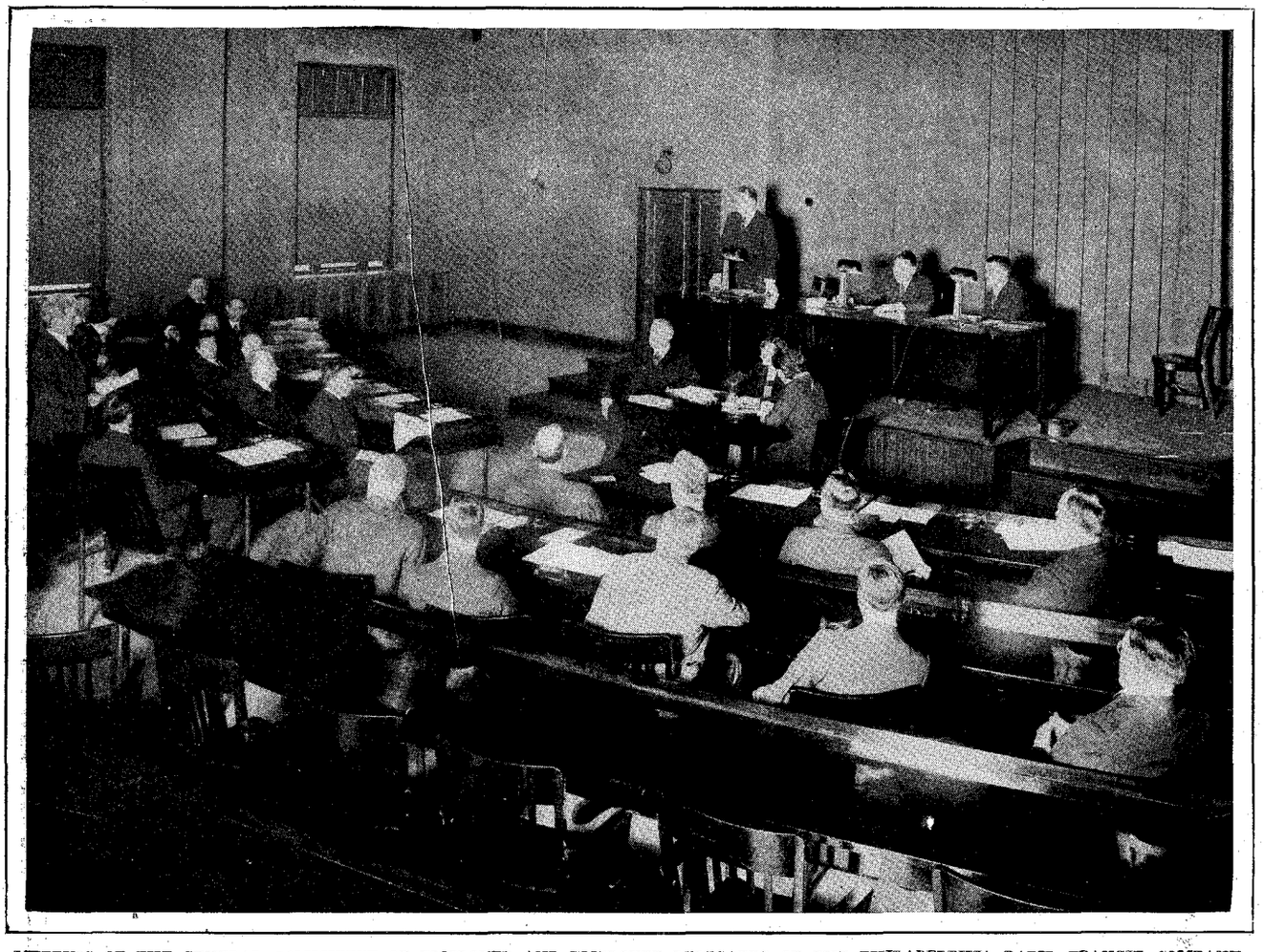

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE DELEGATES OF THE PHILADELPHIA RAPID TRANSIT COMPANY

The employee delegates are on the left; employer delegates on the right—each group having its own chairman, while the entire assembly has a general chairman (center) and reading clerk, as well as two stenographers. An employee delegate (extreme left) is now addressing the assembled committee, having received permission from his chairman, who is standing on the right-hand side of the general chairman

that these stockholders and investors should be taken care of first. If there was any extra money after that, they would get theirs.

This, again, was something new in the labor world. Here were men not only willing to give all that was in them for obligations that were legal, but also perfectly satisfied to take care of every moral obligation. As 1921 drew to a close it became certain that the road had finally, by efficient, co-operative management, established itself in a position where P. R. T. bonds are as good as any bond in the country, and the management has announced that 6 per cent interest will be paid this year to the stockholders.

In the meantime the employees and the management have established insurance and pension funds which are taken care of within the organization.

The men wanted to become stockholders; they desired more than a wage interest in the affairs of the company; and had $250,000 in various Government bonds in their treasury. They declared P. R. T. bonds as good as any on earth, and purchased $250,000 of stock—which made every employee a stockholder. Now the road is being run entirely by employee-stockholders as well as management and stockholders.

During the interim some of the directors had become dissatisfied with the co-operative management and openly declared that they would oust the Mitten management. But the people of Philadelphia fully realized that this same Mitten management, in co-operation with ten thousand men, had pulled the P. R. T. out of its hopeless state and placed it on a stable, efficient basis, and they did not want a change. The men backed the management to the limit. The authority to purchase the $250,000 worth of stock had been signed by every employee of the system, and as a unit they gave their proxy to the Mitten management. Here again was something new in American industrial history. The employee stockholders, voting as a unit, controlled more stock than any other single holder. As a result, one of the employees, Mr. John W. McElroy, was elected a director.

There has been a great deal of comment, pro and con, regarding the employee-director. There was nothing strange about it at all. One of the motormen said to me: "We have $250,000 in stock *en bloc* in this company. Why shouldn't we be represented?" The employees now have a double interest—as employees enthusiastically working for the city and their management, and, at the same time, for their own interest, for the simple reason that they cannot receive reasonable dividends unless they produce this result themselves.

The election that was to decide whether the Mitten management was to remain in the saddle or not attracted Nation-wide attention. Again co-operation counted. The management received the enthusiastic support of a vast majority of the stock voted. Co-operative management had not only built up an enthusiastic team-work between management and men, but between management, men, and the entire Philadelphia public.

I have been asked in the last two weeks by nearly every one I have met: "What kind of a system have they got down there, anyway?"

The collective-bargaining plan of the P. R. T. calls for proper committee organization divided into classes or departments, and each department is divided into contact groups or branches. The procedure of any grievance is through the local branch committees in the lo-

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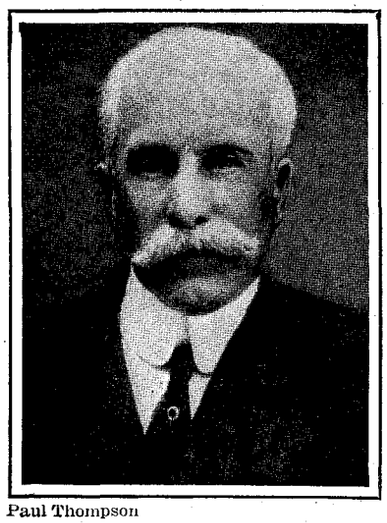

Paul Thompson

EDWARD T. STOTESBURY

Ledger Photo Service

JOHN W. McELROY

cality where a question arises. If not settled, it then goes to the department committees; next to the General Committee; and, as a last resort, to a final board of arbitration. Quite naturally, most questions are settled in the branch and department committees, which are composed of an equal number of employee and employer representatives. Elections for committeemen are by secret ballot.

The more or less complicated question that finally goes before the General Committee is thrashed out in an assembly-room where ten representatives of the employees and ten representatives of the employers are seated before two chairmen. The employers take one side of the room and the employees the other. Questions are thrashed out thoroughly on either side of the house without interruption of the other, thereby eliminating chances of acrimonious personalities or filibusters. However, in case that a deadlock is reached and this General Committee agree that they cannot agree, the final arbitration guarantees impartial justice. If a resort to final arbitration becomes necessary, the employees' and the employers' committees each select an arbiter, and these two arbiters in turn select the third. If, however, the two chosen arbiters are unable to decide on a third party, the public takes a hand; that is, the third arbiter is not chosen, but in his place the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce are requested to serve as additional arbiters, and a majority decision of these five arbiters shall be final and binding on both parties.

Many workers on the P. R. T. hail Mr. Mitten as their "Big Chief" and ascribe all credit for the success of their plans to him alone. Personally, I am inclined to distribute the credit on a 50–50 basis, which is the same basis used in arriving at the results achieved. There is no mysterious method of deduction necessary to be followed in order to get this result; simply an unwavering application of 50 plus 50, and not 95 plus 5. On the part of the management it is the ability of the executives to sell their personality to the workers, making the workmen believe in their integrity and sincere desire to give them a square deal. The reaction on the men is a square deal to the management, in return.

Philadelphia, April 3, 1922.

COLONEL SHAYS

BY DOROTHY CANFIELD

THE FIFTH OF A SERIES OF EXCURSIONS ALONG THE BYWAYS OF HUMAN NATURE

I DARE say when you studied American history you read about Shays's Rebellion, down in Massachusetts, and duly learned that it was put down and the instigators punished. But I am sure that you never knew, and never wondered, what became of Colonel Shays himself, of whom the history books say, "The leader himself escaped."

I know, because it was to the valley just over the mountain from our home that he fled after his last defeat, because in the very last years of his life, as an old man, he lived in our town and told many people what I set down here.

At the time when he made his escape from the officers of the State of Massachusetts, Vermont was, quaintly enough, an independent country all by itself, and hence a sufficient refuge for men fleeing from the officers of any State in the Union. Furthermore, it was in all parts of it rather wild, sparsely settled, none too respectful of any authority, and distinctly sympathetic to strangers who came over the mountains from the east on the run, with the manner of men escaping from the sheriffs. Sheriffs were not popular persons in Vermont in 1787.

But all this did not make it seem a safe enough refuge to a man with a price set on his head—the man who had risked everything on the boldest of all enterprises and had lost everything. He passed by the rough, scattered little hamlets in the main valleys, and went into a remote, narrow, dark, high valley, which is to this day a place where a man might hide for years and never be seen. Colonel Shays, traveling at night, on foot, through the forests, came down into the Sandgate Valley from the northeast over the mountains, and not a soul knew that he had come.

He made his first camp, which was also his permanent and last one, since he was never disturbed, high up on a shoulder of the mountain, overlooking the trail for a great distance, and densely surrounded with a thick growth of young and old pine trees. Very cautiously, making no noise, he put up a rough shelter, and, building a fire only at night, began cooking some of the game he caught. He lived in this way, all alone, for years and years. Game was abundant; he was an adroit trapper, a good pioneer, and knew how to smoke and preserve the flesh of animals and to save their skins. For the first year he did not dare to let any one know that a man was living there and literally saw not one soul.

Then one day a little boy going fishing saw a tall, strong, black-haired stranger standing in the trail waiting for him and holding a large packet of furs. He told the child to take the packet and ask his father for a bushel of seed corn and a bag of salt. He specified that the man who brought it was to leave it just where they then stood, and go away.

The child's father was a rough, half-civilized, good-natured trapper who had had trouble with unreasonable officers of the law in York State. When the child told his story, the father laughed knowingly, got the seed corn and the salt, left them at the place indicated, and kept a neighborly shut mouth. He had never heard of Shays's Rebellion, and supposed the man in hiding to be in the same situation as himself. Living as he did, it seemed no awful fate to make one's living out of the woods, and he thought little of the fact that he had a new neighbor.

After this Colonel Shays began a lit-

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tle cultivation of the ground in scattered places, hidden behind screens of thick trees, in a few natural clearings in the forest. He used to say that life was infinitely more tolerable to him after this addition to his diet. After some months he risked a little more, and, buying them with furs worth forty times their value, he secured a few tools and some gunpowder. The transactions were always carried on through the child, the only one to see the fugitive.

If he ever said anything, nothing has come down to me of what this terrible dead halt in mid-career and this grim isolation from the world meant to an active, intelligent, ambitious man at the height of his powers. None of the old people who heard him talk seem to have asked him about this or to have had any curiosity on the subject. Only the bare facts are known—that he lived thus for many years, till the little boy grew up, till his own hair turned gray and then white, till the few families in that valley were quite used to the knowledge that a queer, harmless old man was living up in the woods near the northern pass over the mountains, miles from any neighbor. Once in a great while now some one saw him—a hunter far on the trail of a deer, a boy fishing, or a group of women picking berries. Very seldom he exchanged a few words at such times, but he had almost forgotten how to speak aloud, and all the stories of him mention the rough, deep hoarseness of his unused voice.

One day his nearest neighbor, meaning to do him a kindness, told him with a rough good will that he might as well quit hiding now. "Whatever 'tis you done, 'tis so long past now! And up here—nobody from your part of the country, wherever 'tis, would ever be coming up here. And if they did they wouldn't know you. Why, your own mother wouldn't know you now, in them clothes and with that white beard."

It is said that Colonel Shays on hearing this drew back and looked down at himself with a strange air of astonishment. Apparently the advice stuck in his mind, for some weeks after this he decided to risk it and to make the trip to Cambridge, the nearest town to those mountain settlements. Early one morning the people of the Sandgate Valley were astonished to see the old man who lived in the woods going down the main trail of the valley, which led into the main State road going to Cambridge. Well, that was something to talk about! He was going to town like anybody else.

Now this happened a good many years after Shays's Rebellion had failed, and the bitterness of the feeling about it had died down. Although Colonel Shays could not know this, most people had even forgotten all about him, and as for looking for him to arrest him nobody would have dreamed of doing it. There were many other things to think of by that time, and, although to himself Colonel Shays was the hunted fugitive with every man's hand against him, to other people he had begun to sink into the history-book paragraph, where he has since remained. His family and friends in Massachusetts had waited till the occasion seemed favorable, and then petitioned for his pardon, on the ground that he must be, if still living, an old man now, quite harmless, and that it would be only decent to let him come back to spend his last days in his own home; and if he were dead, at least it would clear his name and straighten out certain complications about his property. At first they had not succeeded. People still remembered too vividly the treasonable attempt to overturn the authority of the State, only just established and none too strong. But by and by the pertinacity of the petitioners wore out the fading hostility to his name. He was proclaimed pardoned, and notices were sent to all American newspapers informing him that he could now return. This had happened a year before Colonel Shays had started down to Cambridge, but you may be sure that no newspapers found their way up the Sandgate Valley at this period.

After a year had gone by and no sign came from the fugitive, people generally thought him dead. But a fellow-townsman, who knew him well by sight and who some years after his flight had married his youngest sister, volunteered to try to spread the news more widely than by newspaper. There had been a very faint notion among his kinspeople that he had fled to Vermont, although they had taken care to keep this to themselves as long as he was an outlaw, and had now almost forgotten about it. Acting on this notion, Shays's brother-in-law took the long journey on horseback up into Vermont. He entered the State at Bennington, and slowly worked his way north, branching off at every practicable road. But nowhere did he find any one who had ever heard of any such man as his wife's brother. Colonel Shays had hidden himself only too well. He began to think his errand a futile one, and prepared to turn back. But on a chance he rode down to Cambridge, just over the New York line, the nearest town to a number of small valley settlements. He would ask there if any one had seen or heard of the man he was seeking. He knew that men from the remote outlying settlements came to Cambridge to do their trading. He arrived rather late one evening, and as he was no longer young, and very much tired by his long and fruitless journey, he slept that night in the Cambridge Inn.

For the rest of the story there are plenty of details, for Colonel Shays told over and over exactly what happened and just how he felt and why he acted as he did. It seared deep into him and to the end of his days he always grew agitated in speaking of it.

He walked along the road, the first road he had seen since the night so many years before, when he had fled along the roads in Massachusetts. It seemed like iron to his buckskin-shod feet. He walked slowly for this and other reasons. Every house which came into view along the road brought him up short with a jerk like a frightened horse. The instinct to hide, to trust himself in no man's sight, had deformed his whole nature so that the bold leader of men halted, trembling and white-faced, at the sight of an ordinary farmhouse. He forced himself to go on, to pass those sleeping homes, but after he had passed each one with his silent, stealthy wood-dweller's tread he quickened his pace and looked fearfully over his shoulder, expecting to see men run out after him with warrants for his arrest.

By the time he had approached Cambridge the nervous strain had told on him. He was wet with sweat and as tired as though he had been four times over the mountains. Only a few people were abroad, as it was the breakfast hour. Partly from the old fear of years, partly from the mere habit of total isolation, every strange face was like a blow to him. He felt his knees weak under him, and sat down on a bench in front of the kitchen door of the Cambridge Inn to get his breath. He had been a man of powerful will and strong self-control, or he never would have lived through those terrible years of being buried alive, and he now angrily told himself there was nothing to fear in this remote little hamlet, where everybody was used to the sight of men in buckskins coming down to trade their furs for gunpowder and salt. Also, at the sight of all those human faces, taking him back to the days of his human life, a deep yearning had come upon him to get back into the world of living men. He was determined to master his tense nerves and learn to move about among his fellows once more. In a moment, just a moment, he would stand up and move casually over to the general store across the street, where a lad was just then unlocking the door.

He turned his head to glance into the kitchen of the Inn, and as he did so the door opened and a man came in, a traveler, a man he had known in Massachusetts, who knew him, no friend of his, a man who had been on the other side in the Rebellion.

Colonel Shays's heart gave a staggering leap. He caught at the door-jamb and shrank out of sight. He heard the other voice say, "I stepped in to ask if any of you had ever heard whether Colonel Shays was ever heard of in this—"

And then the old man, running madly for his life, fled back to his den in the woods.

A whole decade passed after this before he happened to learn in a conversation overheard between two trappers that for eleven priceless, irreplaceable years he had been a free man.

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THE FIRST EASTER

BY HARRY LEE

LONELY in the house of John,
While the others slept—
Sensing nor cooling winds
Nor stars,
His mother wept—
Seeing alone
The wreathen thorns
About His head,
Hearing His words
Upon the cross,
Mourning Him dead.

Lonely in the house of John,
His mother lay,
Though song was in the olive trees,
And all the east was gray.

Then—Light . . .
Light in the little room . . .
Wide arms . . . an answering cry . . .
Light . . . and His voice . . .
"Be not afraid, O mother,
It is I."

WILL TOTAL DISARMAMENT PREVENT WAR?

BY CAPTAIN L. M. OVERSTREET, U. S. N.

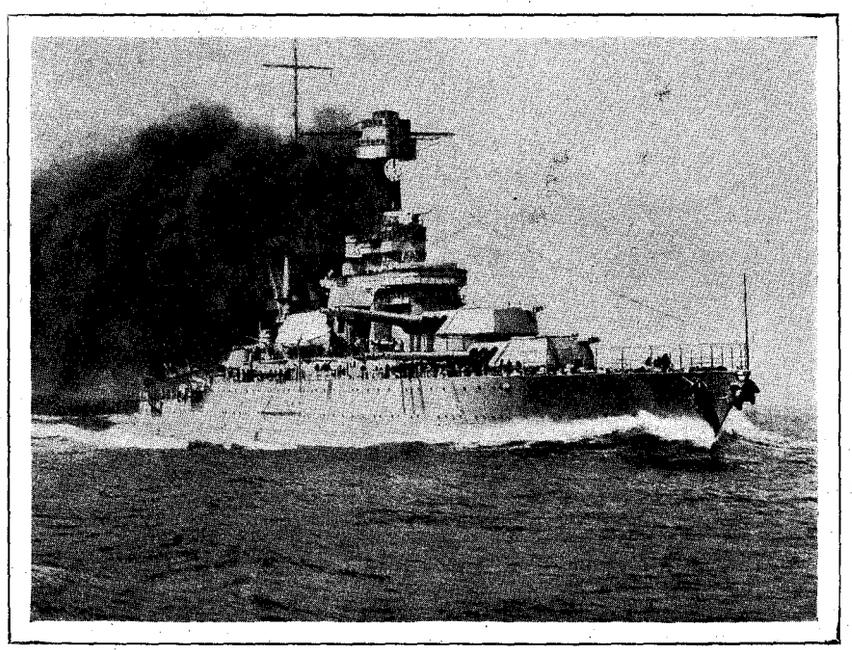
WILL a reduction in naval armament reduce the chance of war? If so, will total naval disarmament prevent war? Inasmuch as history repeats itself, let us look back upon the past, and from that point of vantage make intelligent predictions as to the future.

The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) marked the founding of this country, but we did not end our war with Great Britain until 1783. Upon the conclusion of this war we put total naval disarmament into effect by presenting our newest naval vessel to the King of France and by selling the remainder of our fighting ships, so that by 1785 we did not have a *single* man-of-war. Did this bring us peace?

The very year we disarmed, the Algerians captured two of our merchant ships and closed the "open door" to our trade in the Mediterranean. Later the Algerians captured eleven more of our ships. The crews of these ships (119 men in all) were forced into slavery and seven died as prisoners.

Congress then found itself compelled to make its first appropriation (March 27, 1794) for men-of-war. Thus began our permanent Navy. This first act provided for six frigates (Constitution, President, United States, Chesapeake, Congress, and Constellation), but the act contained a proviso that the ships should not be completed if we could make peace with Algiers during the period of their construction.

The United States finally avoided war by making with Algiers a humiliating treaty in which we agreed to pay over a million dollars to ransom our captured crews and to pay an annual tribute of $21,500. Think of it! Congress then relented somewhat and authorized the completion of three of the six ships (United States, Constellation, and Constitution), as they were well along under construction.



AMERICAN DREADNOUGHT OF 1921—THE TENNESSEE

A Napoleonic war soon followed, and the French began the seizure of our merchantmen. So we fought a naval war with France from 1798 to 1800. Congress now authorized the completion of the other three frigates and appropriated money for thirty more ships. On April 30, 1798, Benjamin Stoddert, of Georgetown, D. C., was made the first Secretary of the Navy. The Navy Department was thus firmly established.

Although we had bought "peace without honor" from Morocco in 1786, from Algiers in 1795, from Tripoli in 1796, and from Tunis in 1797, this did not end war with the states along the Barbary coast. We now had to send a man-of-war to Algiers with our annual tribute. Before long the Bey of Tripoli felt that the tribute he exacted from us was not so much as that some of the other Barbary States received, so he declared war. For four years (1801–5) we then found ourselves engaged in a naval war with Tripoli (in fact, with all of the Barbary States). After the end of a successful war we made "peace with honor" this time.

The believer in disarmament will exclaim, "But in this civilized age a country without a navy would not be treated as we were treated in 1785!" How is a great nation of 400,000,000 people (China) treated to-day? In *exactly* the same way. China is forced to buy treaties of peace and to pay ransom for the

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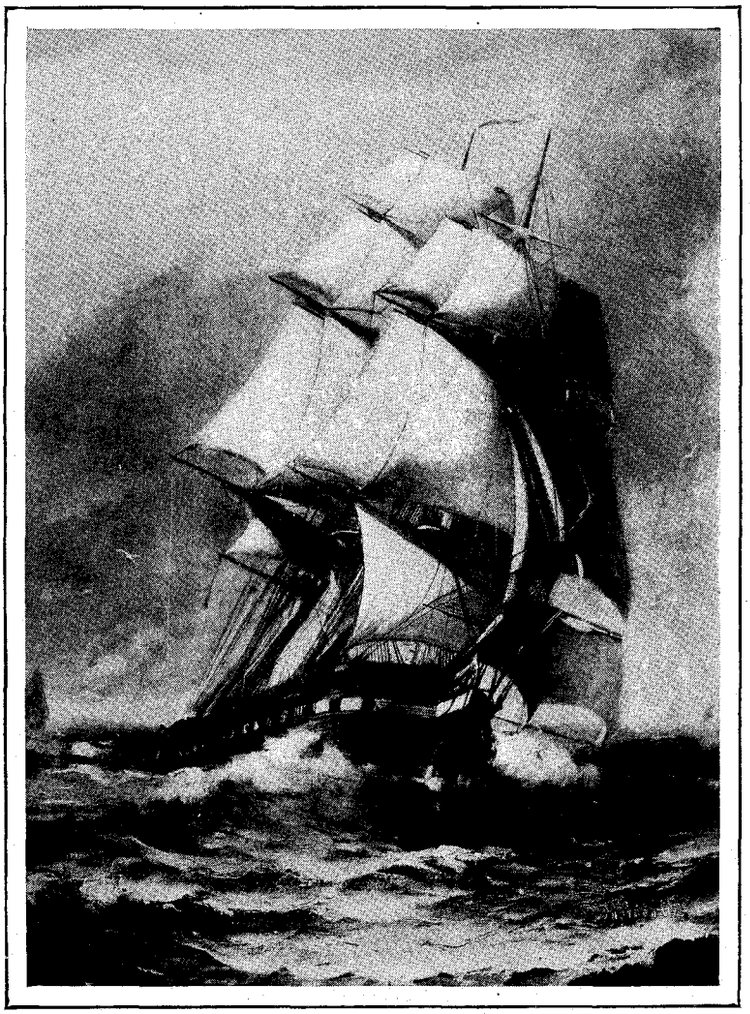

AMERICA'S FIRST MAN-OF-WAR—FRIGATE CONSTITUTION, 1794

return of her own property to-day exactly as we did in 1785. History *always* repeats itself.

It seems clear that if we alone put naval disarmament into effect, we would repeat our experiment of 1785.

Suppose, however, all nations should put complete naval disarmament into effect, and all nations should scrap every type of fighting craft from battleship to submarine. What would happen? In case of war, the nation which had the greatest number of merchant ships would automatically gain control of the sea. At present Great Britain has over 10,000 seagoing merchant ships—more, in fact, than the other four Great Powers—America, Japan, France, and Italy—combined. This would give Great Britain complete control of the sea. In time of war it would merely be necessary to put guns on these merchant ships, as was done in 1812, and they would become men-of-war.

The big fast merchantmen, armed with large guns, would be the battleships of future wars. The small fast ships, armed with guns and torpedoes, would be the cruisers and destroyers.

When we went to war with the British in June, 1812, we had but sixteen serviceable war-vessels. In November, 1811, America knew war was coming, but Congress refused to build a single war-ship. However, after war was declared 500 merchantmen were converted into privateers, and these ships captured or destroyed 1,350 British merchant ships. For lack of war-ships our Capitol in Washington was raided and burned. If we, in 1922, destroy all of our regular fighting ships, we shall certainly be forced, in the event of hostilities, to go back to our practice of over a hundred years ago and to convert our merchant ships into privateers. Do we desire to return to the days of privateering and piracy?

If we went further and eliminated steamships and all types of firearms, would this stop war? Creasy gives the "defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse" as one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. This was a great naval battle fought over two thousand years ago between fleets of galleys and before gunpowder was known. During this battle, in 415 B.C., the Athenian fleet was defeated off Sicily. Athens lost control of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and her sea power was ended forever. As a direct result Rome, instead of Athens, dominated Europe for centuries. The victorious Sicilians won by arming their galleys with large catapults, from which volleys of rocks and stones were fired into the Athenians, who were armed with javelins and slingshots.

Why deceive ourselves? Until human nature changes men will fight whenever they feel that they have a cause, regardless of weapons. Human nature has not changed in many thousand years—in fact, since Cain slew Abel. Man is the most difficult animal in the world to manage. Otherwise, why does New York City spend over $28,000,000 annually for policemen? Why did Boston run riot during the police strike? Why are the States being forced to organize State constabularies for policing the country districts and to call for regular troops in addition? Nations which will not fight cannot exist. The writer believes that if the Chinese were an aggressive fighting people and had an efficient fighting fleet there would be no Far Eastern question and no need of an international conference to eliminate causes for war in the Far East. We may see a "world war" in the Far East simply because China does *not* have battleships.

From these historical facts and arguments, we are forced logically to conclude that total disarmament will not prevent war.

What, then, should be our future naval policy?

America may be inconsistent in many things, but we have consistently followed a policy of "national unpreparedness." Because of this same policy of "national unpreparedness" it took us fifteen months (April, 1917, to July, 1918) to get our men on the firing line in France. During this delay we were spending money at the annual rate of some twenty-five billion dollars and were losing thousands of lives. We have also adhered to a policy of "wrecking the Navy" after each war, through ideas of false economy and in the vain hope that this would prevent future wars. We tried "wrecking the Navy" completely in 1785. We have seen how it worked. In 1922 we propose to maintain a 5–5–3 (America—Great Britain—Japan) ratio of battleships and plane carriers with unlimited cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, and naval auxiliaries.

We should also maintain the same 5–5–3 ratio of men. In Great Britain the present naval force of about 100,000 men is available for duty on fighting ships, as there is a separate Royal Air Force of over 40,000 men which could be used to reinforce the fleet in a naval campaign; naval reserves and civilians are used to operate shore radio stations; and naval bases the world over, with many auxiliaries operated by naval reserves and many merchant ships, are available to supply and repair the British fleet. In the United States regular Navy men are assigned to naval aviation, are used to operate shore radio stations, and, because of scarcity of

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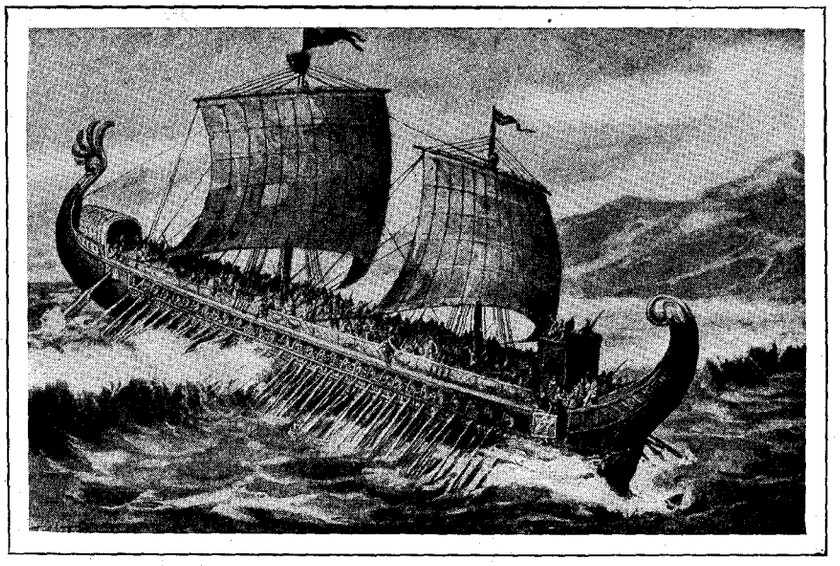
naval bases and a small merchant marine, regular Navy men must be used for supply ships, colliers, tankers, and repair ships. In comparing the annual British naval appropriation with our own we should add to it at least half of the appropriation for the Royal Air Force.

For these reasons, if we propose to carry out the spirit of the treaty and have a 5–5–3 personnel, we should have about 120,000 men when Great Britain has 100,000. The scrapping of battleships under construction and old battleships which have been laid up does not reduce the need for personnel, as there are practically no men on these ships. The writer believes that we need approximately 120,000 men to man the so-called "Hughes Navy" and should increase rather than decrease our present force.

There is no point in having a fifty per cent or a ninety per cent fleet. Germany spent millions of dollars building a fleet about eighty per cent as powerful as the British fleet. Upon the declaration of war, Germany had to withdraw her eighty per cent fleet (except her submarines) and her merchant marine from the high seas and turn over to Great Britain the control of the sea. An eighty per cent fleet may afford an eighty per cent prestige in time of peace and enable a nation to "dig in" and "hold on" after war has been declared, while the other twenty per cent is being provided. Upon a sudden declaration of war, it has been shown that this eighty per cent fleet gave practically zero protection. A nation with an eighty per cent fleet should not assume, however, that the enemy is going to remain idle while this other twenty per cent is being provided. In the recent Great War while Germany was trying to supply this needed twenty per cent Great Britain did not remain idle, but actually increased her superiority.

It is now proposed to "wreck the Navy" partially by reducing the personnel needed to man these 5–5–3 ships to a point which will cut our real fighting fleet to approximately a 2–5–3 ratio. As "men fight, not ships," this will give us a fifty per cent fleet. Will America be satisfied to "wreck the Navy" partially by reducing the personnel? It is false economy to maintain a fifty per cent or even an eighty per cent fleet.



A DREADNOUGHT OF THE GREAT ATHENIAN FLEET, 400 B.C.

We should keep the Naval Academy running to capacity, returning to civil life without pay (as we did years ago) those not needed for active service. It is a good preparedness measure and a good National investment to send men like the present Secretary of War (a Naval Academy graduate) through the Naval Academy.

During the recent Great War many Naval Academy graduates returned temporarily to the Navy from civil life and rendered invaluable service at sea. The writer particularly appreciates the value of these men, for as captain of a transport taking troops to France he had a Naval Academy graduate, who came back temporarily from civil life, as the gunnery officer and another graduate as the chief engineer. Due to these two trained officers, the transport was always ready to steam at full speed and to fight submarines, two very necessary conditions. The States are spending millions of dollars annually to provide free public schools, colleges, and universities. Why shouldn't the National Government, from a population of over one hundred million people, provide free naval education to a paltry five hundred boys a year?

The writer believes that the following conclusions may be logically drawn:

(*a*) Neither partial nor total disarmament will prevent war.

(*b*) Our National naval policy should require a one hundred per cent fleet.

(*c*) The Naval Academy should be kept filled with students, and excess graduates returned to civil life without pay.

(*d*) We should carry out the spirit of the naval treaty and maintain a 5–5–3 ratio of both ships and men.

(*e*) It is assumed that our delegates believed that the maintenance of this 5–5–3 ratio of ships and men would tend to preserve the peace of the world.

However, the fleet belongs to the people, and these questions must be decided by them. The people should realize that the morale of the Navy is being shattered and efficiency decreased by the uncertainty of the future naval policy and by the constant efforts to "wreck the Navy." The men of the Navy do not desire war, but they do desire a one hundred per cent fleet in order to be able to uphold the honor of the flag and protect our commerce and our citizens in all quarters of the globe. The men of the Navy can endure the hostility and bullets of the enemy in time of war, but they must have the friendship and support of their own people in time of peace.

Washington, D. C.

WORLD'S FIRST MEN-OF-WAR, 4000 B.C.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON NON-PARTISAN POLITICS

BY GEORGE S. BUCK

FORMER MAYOR OF BUFFALO

NON-PARTISAN politics sounds like a contradiction in terms, but the fact remains that no campaign can be conducted for the settlement of issues or the choice of candidates to manage the affairs of a great municipality without the use of political methods. It is the purpose of this article to give some experiences with Buffalo's plan to relieve its city government of machine politics.

The present Charter was adopted by an almost two-to-one vote in the fall of 1914. It is what is known as the straight commission form of government. All the legislative and executive powers of the city are vested in a Council of Five, elected at large. The Mayor is the only member of this body who runs as a candidate for the position which he is to fill. His duties are fixed by the Charter. The other four are elected simply as members of the Council, and after taking office are assigned to head the other four departments into which the administration is divided. Three weeks before election a special city primary is held in which any one may be a candidate who can secure three hundred signers to a petition placing his name in nomination. After primary day there are left in the field twice as many candidates as there are positions to be filled, and these candidates are the ones who have received the highest vote in the primary. The old-line party organizations are not forbidden to take part in the primary, but one need not be affiliated with them in order to enter it. This primary was devised for the express purpose of loosening the grip of party organizations on nominations. The Buffalo Charter is the work of a group of citizens who were actuated by no motive except the desire to gain better government. They were goaded into activity by the sufferings of the city from bipartisan political control plus a complicated Federal Charter. The new one went into effect on January 1, 1916. Four municipal elections have been held under it, and certain tendencies have developed which are worth the consideration of all who are interested in the subject of city government.

Just a few words as to the writer's qualifications as an observer of political conditions in Buffalo. For four years I was a member of the Republican County Committee, and in contests within the party have always been a supporter of the regular Republican organization. In the past twenty years as a county official and as Mayor I have fought ten campaigns in my own behalf either before primary or election day, and have helped in campaigns conducted for others.

While a firm believer in party organizations, I have been of the opinion that it would be better both for the municipality and for the party organizations to divorce the city government from partisan politics as far as possible, and have held the faith that the evils of democracy as shown in our governmental organizations could be lessened by bringing the management of affairs closer to the people.

The men in control of the regular party organizations have been bitterly opposed to Buffalo's Commission Charter. The reason for this is not far to seek when one understands the conditions with which the leaders of an organization must contend. A party machine cannot exist without patronage, the opportunity to do favors, and some money to be expended in bringing out the vote. In certain limited portions of a large city it is possible to secure volunteer work at the primaries and on election day. In the greater part of a city this kind of work will not be done unless those who do it are paid for their services. Let no one imagine that this means the buying of votes, nor corruption of any kind. The fact is that most people have to work hard to make a living. They cannot give time to politics unless they are paid for it in some way, either by cash or favors or by the hope of securing appointment to a position. People of this type have in large measure the human virtue of gratitude. There are few who do them favors, and when they receive one it generally takes the form of help in some trying situation. They will show their appreciation by working hard for the politician who has befriended them. This explains the great hold of Tammany Hall or any well-organized political machine.

In the spring of 1921 a bill was passed by the Legislature to wipe out Buffalo's Commission Charter and restore the old federal type of city government. Under the law of New York State, this bill had to be submitted to the Mayor. I vetoed it with an emphatic message. This earned for me the bitter hostility of my own party organization, and in the fall, when I became a candidate for renomination, the chairman of the Republican County Committee also entered the race. He received the support of the Republican organization, and my friends created a temporary one in my behalf. There was also in the field a candidate backed by the Democratic organization. In the primary the Mayor received more than the combined votes of the two candidates, backed, respectively, by the Republican and Democratic organizations. In the four municipal primaries which have been held under the present Charter there has been a total of not less than seventy-five candidates, but I can recall only one supported by a regular party organization who succeeded. I was that candidate, and came within three hundred votes of defeat by the Socialists. This shows very plainly that the public at large so distrusts the regular party organizations that they are powerless to pick the candidates in a non-partisan primary.

It is a common failing of human nature to leave undone those things which ought to be done. This is so well recognized that it has found a place in religious liturgies. Men who ought to insure their lives will not do so unless hounded by some agent who follows them up until the act is accomplished. Many people will not vote unless they are sent for and carried to the polls. In order to do this work of getting out the vote it is necessary to have an organization in every election district. In Buffalo, which is a city of a trifle over half a million people, there are 240 election districts, and $20 in each district, on the average, is a moderate sum to spend in bringing out the vote. When I was a member of the Republican organization, I was always given $40 for this purpose. That was when a dollar was worth twice what it is to-day, and $40 was none too much, so that in order to work effectively the first item of expense confronting a candidate is $4,800 for primary day. This must be repeated on election day. Here is a perfectly legitimate item of expense, amounting to nearly $10,000, without any allowance for office rent, stenographers, printing campaign literature, auto hire, advertising in the press, and a number of other unavoidable items if a candidate is to reach the people. There is only one way to do this without a large expenditure of money, and that is by a very long speaking campaign, utilizing every kind of gathering to which the candidate can gain admission. Furthermore, he must have some message that will catch and hold the crowd. When I was a candidate four years ago, my opponent had neglected to try to remedy a distressing breakdown in street railway service, and my promise to undertake the task found a ready response in a suffering public. The result was a great success at the polls.

Last fall I could present only a record of excellent administration, a promise to keep it up and to do my duty as the executive sworn to enforce the laws. While essential to the welfare of the municipality, there was nothing in this equal to the stirring quality of my opponent's promise to bring back good beer and wine. The result was a victory for him.

It is hard to realize the indifference

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of the public to the duty of exercising the right of franchise. The public school authorities estimate that one-fifth of the population is of school age. In Buffalo there are 44,000 aliens over twenty-one years of age. With a population of 510,000, it is safe to estimate that not more than 66,000 people are between school age and twenty-one. Therefore there must be 300,000 people with the right to vote. In the Mayoralty contest last fall 144,000 people registered and 120,000 cast their votes for the respective candidates for Mayor. Exactly forty per cent of the possible number of votes were counted, or, to put the matter in another way, in the Buffalo election twenty-one per cent of the voting population decided what kind of administration the city should have. This makes it very plain that a mere fraction of a city's population, if it knows what it wants in the way of an administration, can secure its ends and determine the kind of government under which the overwhelming majority shall live. I know that some of my fellow-townsmen will challenge these figures, but to show that my conclusions are substantially correct the reader is invited to study the returns in the State of New York for the Presidential election of 1920. Harding and Cox together received 2,652,000 votes out of a possible 5,518,000 citizens who were qualified to vote, which shows that, with all the excitement and the big issues at stake in a Presidential year and with the utmost exertions of two effective party organizations, only a little more than half of the electorate were sufficiently interested to go to the polls.

There are very practical difficulties in the way of putting together an organization to work effectively in bringing out the voters in behalf of any individual candidate when the territory is as large as must be the case in a city of half a million population. Let the reader put himself face to face with the task of picking a man and woman in 240 districts who have enough standing with their neighbors to at least cause no harm and who can be relied upon to try to interest others in the candidate. The services of many people must be accepted about whom little is known. My experience has been that some people will come in and volunteer. No reason can be discovered why their services should not be accepted. These people appear interested. They call from time to time and report progress. After primary or election day is over it is found that, although paid for their services, they also accepted money from one or two other candidates and when the crucial day arrived they actually worked for no one. When there are opposing candidates in the field who are abundantly supplied with money, here is what will happen. Some one will turn up at our candidate's headquarters and want to know who is the representative in a certain district, professing to desire to work with that representative. The seeker after information will then go to our candidate's representative and try to persuade him to stop work. If that does not succeed, pressure will be brought to bear, and if this fails then a sum of money will be offered, and in many instances one of these methods succeeds in paralyzing the agency on which our candidate is relying to carry a certain district. Again, it will be found that some will volunteer to represent our candidate, and later events will make it clear that this was done with the deliberate purpose of betraying him on the decisive day.

In this field of organization the old-line parties have a very great advantage, because they are continuing bodies. It is part of the work of the leader of a regular party organization to know the party representative in each district. He must watch the returns after every election. If the vote does not come out as it should, the cause must be found If the party representative has turned traitor or is incompetent, then it becomes the task of the boss to nominate some one against him at the next primary and use all the influence of the organization to beat him. In this way the party organization is kept tuned up to a pitch of effectiveness far beyond what can be the case with any volunteer organization, because the latter can neither punish treachery nor weed out the worthless.

A regular party organization possesses certain distinct virtues just because it is in business permanently. It cannot afford to stand for what is impossible or ridiculous or illegal. It has a continuing responsibility and must pay the penalty for its mistakes. An individual candidate may stand for what is absurd, provided it catches the popular fancy, because he may be so situated that he cares nothing for his political future and is interested only in carrying the election that is immediately ahead. No party organization can play all the politics with complete abandon in one year. It must consider years that are to come.

Under the non-partisan direct primary, because of the indifference of the electorate, the prejudice against the regular party organizations which keeps them from nominating candidates, and the impossibility of creating effective temporary organizations, conditions favor the type of candidate gifted with a ready tongue and the audacity to espouse whatever will stir the hopes and rouse the interest of a fifth of the voters, while the candidate who from experience with affairs has developed moderate views and caution labors under a constant handicap.

THE RADICALISM OF THE FARMER

BY HUGH J. HUGHES

I AM speaking of the farmer from the standpoint of the farmer—as a farmer and as a farm-paper editor acquainted with him in all his moods during the past thirty years.

It happens that during very recent years the farmer has been and is roundly damned by a certain vigorous portion of the press as a profiteer, an ingrate, a follower after false political gods, a potential Bolshevik.

If these charges were true, it remains a question whether it would show either political or social wisdom to proclaim the fact, unless supported by substantial proofs, which are usually lacking.

The fact is, that if the farmer is class-conscious or is tempted to wage a class warfare, either by direct party action or through political "blocs," not he, but rather the non-agricultural groups have marked the lines of political and social cleavage, and the press representative of these groups has kept up a line of badinage that has at last achieved its logical result—that of forcing together by outside pressure the agricultural group.

This is no new discovery. In fact, it is so old a cause of farmer prejudice against city leaders and leadership that it is for the most part overlooked. The custom of ignoring the farmer, or, worse still, of imputing to him as a class lack of intelligence and vision, especially of political vision, is a century plant that has more than once blossomed into the ugly flower of open misunderstanding.

Mark, I am not charging that this misrepresentation of the farmer has been *willfully* done. The essential fact is that it has been done.

The daily press of the city more particularly has catered to its own clientele—has been, in the past, quite too ready to jibe at everything beyond its own bailiwick.

Now jibes are well enough if deserved; otherwise, they are tools of trouble that the wise leave strictly alone. They are slow poison. They are directed at the father; they are returned by the son, and on the come-back it is not infrequently the well-meaning, the right-intentioned, who receive them. Having neither willed nor done injustice themselves, they convict the farmer of

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class feeling, of prejudice, of other and sundry breaches of the faith of a good citizen; and so the misunderstanding between city and country grows once more acute.

In thus charging the city press with being the cause of much of the vocal hostility of the farmer toward the city I am not charging it with deliberate intent to do wrong. What intent there was—the attitude being for the most part assumed without mental effort—was mainly to find a butt of ridicule who would not strike back either at the advertising or the circulation departments of the paper in question. Perhaps the fact that a large part of our city population hails directly from the country and is anxious to prove its urban quality by its ridicule of everything pertaining to the country has, or had, its bearing on the problem. At any rate, the editorial and reportorial attitudes of the city press toward the country had up to more recent years a quality peculiarly irritating to the man from the country, all the more exasperating because it came out of deeps of an ignorance of country life and purpose so abysmal as to make reply impossible. Badinage, to be successful, needs a very understanding touch; and the touch of the city press has not been of the understanding sort. The editors, reporters, paragraph writers, cartoonists, did not, for the most part, either know or care whose nose they were twisting; their audience laughed, and that was enough. But the farmer cared; it was his nose that was tweaked.

Yet this, of itself, is not enough to explain the evidence of "class feeling" on the part of the farmer. The city press is not taken altogether seriously out on the rural routes. Perhaps not seriously enough. Perhaps its freedom is too much questioned, its good intent not often enough admitted. The cry of "kept press" has an appealing sound to farmer ears. Whatever it has been, it has not been *his* press—has been quite distinctly against him, in the main, and he is ready to believe its veniality and to doubt its sense of fairness. In short, never having represented him nor his interests, its frantic appeals to him, late in the eleventh hour, arouse in him, not understanding, but hostility.

There is a further reason for the so-called "class feeling" of the farmer. He has been, right up to within recent years, a debtor, and there still are debtor areas out of which come the loudest voices of protest against the present economic and social machinery. Naturally, "Wall Street," the "Money Trust," the "Combine," the "Interests"—whatever name the passing hour may give to the creditor class with which he deals—is visible only as it reaches out from the cities to and through the country stores, elevators, banks, machinery houses, and other means of trade contact. His grain goes to the cities, his live stock goes to the cities, his mortgages are filed away

Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

FARM LIFE ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE. GRANDPA LISTENS IN ON THE WIRELESS TO "OLD DAN TUCKER" AND "TURKEY IN THE STRAW"

A characteristic city view of the farmer as a hick, and much better natured than many cartoons of the kind

as collateral in the vaults of city banks, his groceries, clothing, machinery, lumber—all he sells, all he obligates, all he buys—somehow or other attaches itself at its farther end to the city.

Without questioning the desirability of our present social organization, I merely wish to point out the fact that a mortgage does not arouse feelings of the warmest friendship in the breast of the mortgagee, nor do retail-store prices cause the customer to fall on the neck of the storekeeper with tears of gladness; neither are the grain and live-stock quotations, as a rule, matters that enlist the farmer's lively admiration for the city men, who, in his opinion, move behind the screen to manipulate these prices in their own favor.

In other words, in practically all points of contact with the city the farmer touches it on the raw edge—on *his* raw edge of clashing self-interest. The fact that the city represents a link in the chain to the consumers' world, that it affords him a market, that it stabilizes prices, that it puts the world at his door—all this is lost in the twinge of that raw-edge competitive contact, unsoftened by the human understanding that should, but seldom does, exist on either side.

Vocally, then, the farmer is apt to be a city baiter, just as vocally the city man badgers the farmer. Do the fundamental causes of misunderstanding run deeper or farther? I am inclined to think they do. Each envies the other his job, his freedom, his imagined independence. The city man envies the farmer and hopes some day to buy a farm, where he can rest while some husky son of the soil does the labor. The farmer, having had his fill of labor, envies the city man and hopes for a time when he can retire, or when his son can get a "clane, aisy job," as the Irishman ptus it. And this longing, unfulfilled, breeds envy—an envy that is very general among country people. Perhaps it would not be far wrong to say that the average city man judges country life by its poorest, least successful types, while the farmer judges the city from its outstanding successes. Wrong, of course, from both faces, but all the more a reason for the "class feeling" we are talking about. When the other man possesses something we desire but cannot secure, the result is not conducive to our mutual happiness and friendship, is it?

Another cause for "class feeling" exists. I refer to the apparently inevitable drift of the country-born toward the city. It leaves the home empty and the farm at the mercy of the hired man or the tenant. All their days the father and mother have planned for the time when the son would be the successor; now he is only the heir—to be bragged about in public, to be mourned in private as lost to the farm. The belittling of one's own calling is forgotten; forgotten the fact that the boy's first mental pictures of the city were painted by his own parents. The city has reached out and stolen their boy! Illogical, and a part of an illogical situation.

In view of all this, the surprising thing is, not that the farmer is vocally radical, but that he is not a radical of action, a disturber, if you please, of the social order.

I think that I have shown you that in the general murk of his misunderstanding and of being misunderstood he has some reason for radicalism. And yet the fact is that he is not a radical, not a malcontent, not a disturber, not inclined to take the bit into his teeth and to run things his own way. I say this in the face of the admitted facts of Greenbackism, Populism, Free-Silveritis, Townleyism—all of which were, or are, farmer movements to correct very apparent abuses by means of the ballot, after other methods of securing redress had failed.

It took a lot of prodding from the economic goad to stir the farmers into the populistic revolt of the nineties, and it took a decade of further prodding to stir the North Dakota farmers of to-day into political action that has placed the State for the present in their hands. Each of these movements has been, in its turn, misjudged both as to cause and course. "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, Weaver, Mary Ellen Lease, Bryan, Townley, all have this in common, that the popular will sweeps on in their direction—and will just as surely leave them high and dry on the shores of political shipwreck when they do not yield wholly to it. The farmer is not concerned in the political fortunes of his so-called leaders. What he is after

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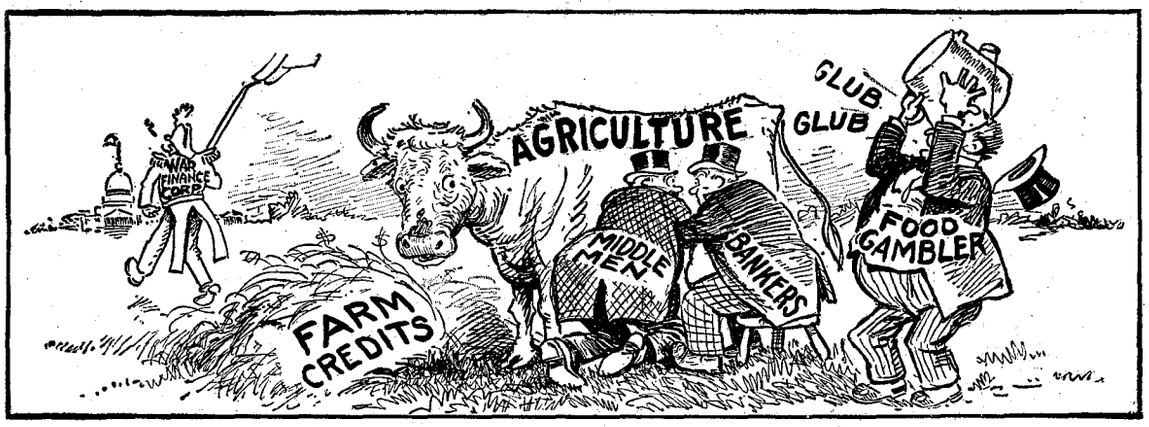
Morris for the Nonpartisan Leader



IT'S ALL RIGHT TO FEED THE COW, BUT LOOK WHO GETS THE MILK!

A farm cartoon replying to the city cartoons in kind

is reform, and if the promised reform does not materialize, worse luck to the leaders!

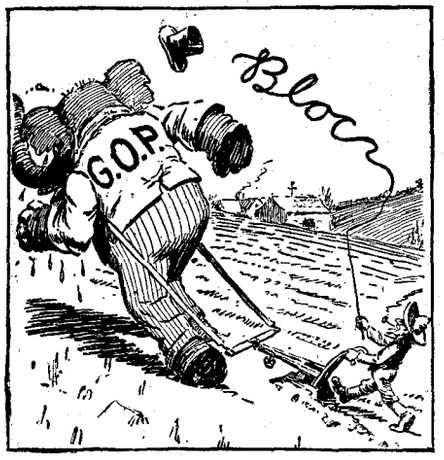
The present Nation-wide unrest among the farmers is not rightly interpreted unless account is taken of the fact that, unlike earlier movements, this one is, for the most part, not a protest of the weak, but a reasonable demand of the economically strong for place and recognition in the world of business. That fact alone removes it from the company of those social revolutions which aim at breaking heads as a preliminary to breaking the nine other commandments, and puts it in with those other peaceful revolutions by which the Anglo-Saxon peoples have usually worked out their industrial and social problems.

This attitude of mind is far from that of the radical. The farmer may sign petitions, he may attend political meetings, he may kick over the idols in the very holy of holies of the political machine, but these things are done, not to secure possession of the machine as a means of control of other people and other interests, nor to confer such control upon his leaders, but simply and solely to get for himself and his fellows that margin of economic freedom which they deem necessary to their personal independence.

In other words, his radicalism in its most extreme form is for the purpose of making secure the conditions under which he lives—of fixing solidly his economic position. He may blunder at the job. He may do the wrong thing, or he may do the right thing in a wrong way. He may harness up a social machine that will not work. Any or all of these things may happen, but one thing will not happen—he will not follow any leaders, no matter how artful or persuasive, into the paths of Bolshevism.

He has too much native common sense for that, too much Anglo-Saxon pride in orderly government. He has too much at stake personally to enter wittingly into any broad programme of State Socialism. When he gets what he is fighting for—an open market for his products, a fair deal in interest rates, adequate transportation—he will call a halt, and if his leaders want to go farther they will travel alone!

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



SPEAKING OF FARM LABOR

"The present Nation-wide unrest among the farmers is not rightly interpreted unless account is taken of the fact that, unlike earlier movements, this one is, for the most part, not a protest of the weak, but a reasonable demand of the economically strong for place and recognition"

In pointing out the causes of the so-called "class feeling" on the part of the farmer I have suggested in all but words the obvious remedy. That apt phrase of our late phrase-making President, "Open covenants openly arrived at," quite covers the case. All the farmer expects and all he asks is a square deal. If in any direction he is demanding more, it is because he does not understand the situation. He has a certain short vision for which others as well as himself are to be held responsible. Give him the facts, and he will frame from them a pretty fair treaty of peace between the business world and himself. And so long as the terms of that treaty are lived up to with any degree of fairness he can be depended upon to carry his share of the load without whimpering.

Calling names is a poor method of establishing friendships. And just now the vital need on the part of all concerned in the future of the Republic is friendly understanding. It is high time that the city press begin to take the farmer seriously, not as a menace, but as a potential ally; high time, too, that the business world cease its patronizing attitude and welcome the farmer as an associate and an equal; high time that we put our heels under the table of friendship one with the other, for without each other we are helpless, and with each understanding and co-operating with the other the circle of our economic and social life is complete and unbreakable.

NEXT WEEK we shall print an account of an hour with M. K. Gandhi, the great Indian Nationalist, which contains a number of stories of his life in South African jails. It is a striking portrait study.

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A BABY IS A BABY THE WHOLE WORLD ROUND

PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

From Clover Todd, Constantinople, Turkey

A RUSSIAN MOTHER WITH HER CHILD ON THE WAY TO HER BARRACK CARRYING A LUNCH RECEIVED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

The photograph was taken at one of the largest refugee camps, situated at San Stefano on the Sea of Marmora, about an hour by train from Constantinople. The refugees are fed by the International Red Cross assisted by the Russian White Cross

From Mrs. Helen B. Landon, Bangor, Maine

A GOOD-NATURED CHINESE MOTHER AND HER BABY

This is the way, our informant says, the babies are kept out of mischief in China. A little floor is built inside the barrel for the baby's feet to rest on

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THE BOOK TABLE

THE AUTHOR OF "IF WINTER COMES"[1]

BY HENRY C. SHELLEY

A PILE of letters is lying before me. They range in date from the fall of 1912 to the present time. In nearly every case they are signed: "A. S. M. H."

Recent events have deepened the interest of those letters. For they were written by the novelist whose name is now so familiar and so endeared to innumerable thousands as the author of "If Winter Comes."

On re-reading those letters my mind goes back to my first interview with A. S. M. Hutchinson. He was living then in a northern suburb of London, close to the Hampstead Heath, on which, as he told me, he took "prodigious walks." His study was an attic room with sloping walls, notable chiefly for its writing-table and several odd bookcases. "That," he said, pointing to one taller than the rest, "is my favorite bookcase." And two of his favorite authors were fully represented there: Fielding, "whom I know by heart," and Meredith, who was his next master in fiction. For the rest, he spoke most affectionately of the British essayists—Addison and Steele and the like.

In those days Mr. Hutchinson was surprisingly boyish looking for his thirty-two years. Slight of build, of average stature, but upright as a dart, as became his soldier ancestry, he had then that spirit of sympathy and that interest in humanity which the passing years have developed and deepened.

All those outward traits are much the same to-day—he is upright as ever, and more soldierly in his carriage; but the decade that has gone has left him older seeming than the ten years it represents. Although not looking more than his forty-two years, still the war plowed so deeply into his spirit that all his intimate friends note the change. I doubt, indeed, whether any other young Englishman suffered so keenly from the war as Mr. Hutchinson.

Of military ancestry and breeding, it was natural that at the first rumor of war he should have striven to take his part in the conflict. His father is a retired general, who has to his record much campaigning on the northwest frontier of India, during which he raised a new Gurkha battalion. Then he held the important post of Director of Staff Appointments at the War Office, and between whiles had written many military text-books which still remain in popular use. The elder brother of the novelist saw much hard service in West and South Africa, and died from the after-effects of his Boer War service. Mr. Hutchinson's younger brother served all through the Great War and was mentioned in despatches. Then his elder sister is the wife of a soldier.

Keystone

A. S. M. HUTCHINSON

Belonging thus to a family all of whose sons naturally went into the army, Mr. Hutchinson was distraught that his defective eyesight had prevented him from adopting the army as a profession. "I think soldiering is the only career for a man," he once told me, and then added: "I would gladly change places with every smart private I see, and I curse the short sight which robbed me of a red tunic."

Three days before war was declared he, knowing that war was certain, tried to enlist in the Territorials for foreign service, but was turned down because of his defective eyesight. But towards the end of October he wrote me in great glee: "I have managed to enlist in a corps—of sorts—at last. The United Arts Force has its headquarters at the Royal Academy, and consists of artists and actors and authors and useless people of that kind. It has not yet been officially recognized by the War Office; but we are about fifteen hundred strong and drill with immense zeal, so I think will do our bit before the show is over—please God. I plug at it every morning and look a wonderful ass—then to the office."

All this will be full of meaning to readers of "If Winter Comes." They will recall that Mark Sabre tried again and again to "do his bit." There is, indeed, a close relation between the experiences of Mark Sabre and the novelist. It is a significant example of the way in which Mr. Hutchinson has drawn upon his own experience to note that his age and that of his hero correspond to a year. But the novelist has not yet committed to print any adequate description of the suffering he endured ere he was at last able to take his part in "the show."

For those friends who have an intimate knowledge of his career each of Mr. Hutchinson's novels is replete with autobiographical interest. There is much of himself and his experiences in all. Take the George of "Once Aboard the Lugger—." He, it will be recalled, was a medical student. So was Mr. Hutchinson. When his defective eyesight prevented him from entering the combatant arm of the army, his parents decided that he might still enter via the Indian Medical Service. But he was as much a failure as his own George. Not through lack of ability; but because, like Keats, his heart was more set upon literature than physic. It was during his brief days as a medical student that he began, as he has told me, "to give editors the bother of returning my manuscripts." Not all those manuscripts came back, however. "I had two poems accepted by a monthly magazine, which printed them and never smiled again—it went smash almost immediately."

But his heart was so averse from medicine and so set upon writing that, despite the faithful return of most of his manuscripts, there came a day when he made a great decision—a decision "to 'chuck' medicine and concentrate on an assault on Fleet Street."

"Then began," he confessed, "four

[1] The Novels of A. S. M. Hutchinson: "The Happy Warrior," "Once Aboard the Lugger—," "The Clean Heart," and "If Winter Comes." Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.50 each.

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months of desperate grinding out of all sorts and conditions of stuff—'mugged up' articles for the penny weeklies, verses, short stories—anything to get a footing and earn a badly needed guinea. Very few stuck. A regular source of income (!) was five shillings a week for some four or five comic verses in a weekly paper. But they thrilled me to the core, those 5 shilling postal orders—it was the beginning!"

In due time all this experience was to be useful as local color for his novels. Turn to "The Clean Heart," for example, and re-read how Mr. Wriford became a part of the Gamber establishment, turning out "copy" for all kinds of ephemeral publications. Wriford is Mr. Hutchinson writing and writing and writing for the various weeklies and monthlies of the house of Pearson. And what happened to Wriford happened to him. As Wriford told the head of Gamber's, it was not more money he wanted, but more time to himself. "I'm writing a novel." And so he was, writing "Once Aboard the Lugger—."

It was "The Lugger," as Mr. Hutchinson always calls that delectable comedy, which prompted the novelist to take his second big plunge. So he left the house of Pearson for free-lance journalism and time to write fiction. Once more, as he always insists, he was "lucky, extraordinarily lucky." Two jobs came his way at once. One to write a daily leaderette for a London morning newspaper, and the other to run a funny column for a London evening newspaper. Those were indeed "busy days," as he reflects. Like Wriford, he left his lodgings at seven in the morning to do his evening newspaper column, and, like Wriford, he had to be in his morning-newspaper office at ten at night. The rest of the day was free for the writing of "The Lugger."

All through 1907, and later, these "busy days" went on. At last "The Lugger" was finished, but the first publisher to whom it was submitted sent it back with high praise and the remark that "humor is out of my line." How it was published in the fall of 1908 and its enthusiastic reception in the United States as well as in England is known.

Then came the long silence which was not to be broken until "The Happy Warrior" saw the light towards the end of 1912. That delay was due to two causes. One was journalistic, the other temperamental. The journalistic cause consisted in the fact that he had become the editor of a London daily, thus leaving him little time for fiction. "Well, good-by," he ejaculated to me one day as I left him at the door of his office; "I must get in now to be caught up in the swirl of things!" The temperamental cause is that he is, as he admits, "appallingly, vilely conscientious."

Begun in 1909, "The Happy Warrior" was virtually finished in 1911. But when he had completed the book, into which he had put "absolutely all I have in me," he was dismayed to realize that the book would not do! He decided that it must be wholly rewritten. There were times when he despaired of getting the story into a form satisfactory to himself. Many of the scenes were written a dozen times. In all, virtually four years had passed before he was able to write "The End" with any sense of satisfaction.

Why? Let him explain: "I envy authors who have the courage to snap their fingers at little improbabilities of time and place and character. Time and again when writing I find myself floored by a little unlikelihood that, if persisted in, I believe no one would notice. But I cannot make my pen do it. If needs be, whole chapters must be rewritten to remove the obstacle."

To this should be added that Mr. Hutchinson is a slow worker. He envies the authors who can go for a long walk, plan out a chapter in their minds, and then come home to rush it down onto paper. At the time when he was writing "The Happy Warrior" he was able to think only when he was actually sitting with pen in hand. Indeed, unless he had a good nib and good paper and was writing neatly he could not make any progress. But his methods have changed of late. Taking a fancy to a type-machine which I affected when I worked with him in journalism, he has now developed the typewriting habit. He found this an enormous advantage when writing "If Winter Comes."

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

ROMANTIC LADY (THE). By Michael Arlen. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.90.

The ladies who figure in these delicately wrought and carefully written romances are somewhat short on morals, but they are compensatingly long on subtlety. Despite one's genuine admiration for the author's style and manner of writing, one is pained to note that he occasionally lapses into that form of grammatical error which belongs to F. P. A.'s "'Whom are you,' said Cyril."

TORQUIL'S SUCCESS. By Muriel Hine. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

A study of the troubles and anxieties of an unsuccessful novelist. The analysis of poor Torquil's deficiencies is unsympathetic though keen. The minor characters are well done and there are humorous bits and graphic writing.

WAYS OF LAUGHTER (THE). By Harold Begbie. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.

The eccentric English lawyer who tries to make the world happy by making it laugh is well conceived by the author, but his humor in actual practice is heavy, the gayety is forced, and the humorous note is kept up too long.

POETRY

ANTHOLOGY OF MAGAZINE VERSE FOR 1921. By William Stanley Braithwaite. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

If there ever was a book which deserved the characterization "a labor of love," it is Mr. Braithwaite's annual anthology of American verse. For nine years he has devoted much of his time to the preparation of these surveys of American poetry as it is represented in our magazines. The last decade has seen a great change in the attitude of the poetry-reading public towards magazine verse, and Mr. Braithwaite has had no little share in the work of effecting this change.

His anthologies have shown a steady improvement year by year. In the present volume he has perhaps reached a point beyond which, with the natural limitations upon his time and resources, he will be unable to go.

The general interest which has been shown in his volumes suggests that he should be given also the active support of some organization interested in poetry. We think that active co-operation and assistance in the improvement of his annual anthology would be fully as great a service to poetry as the offering of prizes to individuals.

Assistance could be extended in the shape of subscriptions to all the magazines with literary standards—Mr. Braithwaite's anthology is not as representative or as inclusive as it should be—and also in the employment of editorial aid to help in the preparation of an adequate and accurate bibliography. With such help these anthologies could be made into indispensable reference books for the student of current poetry.

The thought and enthusiasm which made these review volumes possible and the credit for attempting them belong exclusively to Mr. Braithwaite. He should emphatically be helped to bring his ideas to complete fruition.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

ASIA AT THE CROSSROADS: JAPAN; KOREA; CHINA; PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. By E. Alexander Powell. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $3.

This is an entertaining presentation of the political problems of the Far East rather than a book of travel. Nevertheless it is based on personal investigation of those problems in Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines. The author is extremely well informed, he writes in a dispassionate way on matters that are often dealt with in a spirit of partisanship, and his style is remarkably readable.

MODERN CITY AND ITS GOVERNMENT (THE). By William Parr Capes. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5.

A thoroughly well informed student of city affairs here presents the latest results of his investigations in the science of municipal government. The commission plan, the commission-manager plan, city charters, and such questions as, Is city government a business? How should city officials be elected? How should city school systems be managed?—all are discussed with insight, full knowledge, and an open mind. A valuable book for all thoughtful citizens and all progressive officials.

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Often a bridesmaid but never a bride

THE case of Geraldine Proctor was really pathetic. Most of the girls in her set were married, or about to be. Yet not one of them possessed more grace or charm or beauty than she.

And as Miss Proctor's birthdays crept gradually toward that tragic thirty-mark, marriage seemed farther away from her life than ever.

She was often a bridesmaid but never a bride. * * *

Your mirror can't tell you when your breath is not right. And even your most intimate friends probably won't.

That's the insidious thing about halitosis (the medical term for unpleasant breath). Halitosis creeps upon you unawares. You may even have it for years without knowing so yourself.

That of course is when halitosis is a symptom of some deep-seated organic trouble a doctor must correct. Or maybe a dentist.

But so commonly halitosis is rather a temporary or local condition that will yield to more simple treatment.

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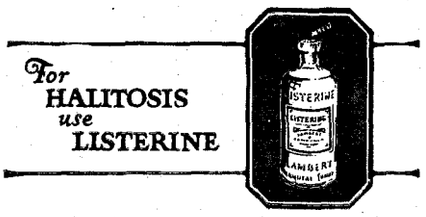
As such it becomes an indispensable friend to people who wish to enjoy the comfortable assurance that their breath is always beyond reproach.

Listerine will put you on the safe and polite side. Provide yourself with a bottle today and use it regularly as a gargle and mouth wash.

Your druggist has handled Listerine for years, and regards it as a safe, effective antiseptic of great merit.

Start using Listerine today. Don't be in doubt another day about your breath—Lambert Pharmacal Company, Saint Louis, Mo.



THE FORGOTTEN FIRESIDE

BY MARSH K. POWERS

THAT something has happened to the American home is an inescapable fact which we all recognize. Its old-time social dominance is obviously in eclipse, and the reasons which have been adduced to explain this obvious lessening in its importance are many and varied.

A recently published statement bearing on this subject halted me abruptly, not merely because it translated this National tendency into dollars and cents, but rather because it pointed out a notable parallel. There is thought-provoking material in the sentences quoted below, here reproduced for brevity's sake without their context:

"Last year they [the people of the United States] spent over $3,500,000,000 [wholesale prices] for the purchase of automobiles and accessories. . . . It is interesting to note that the building shortage a year ago (1919) was estimated at $3,500,000,000."

Without attempting any exhaustive check-up of the accuracy of the two figures (in fact, disregarding wholly their almost suspicious coincidence), we must all of us accept the basic fact that they mirror a fundamental National truth—that the American home in the past twenty years has decreased in its relative importance. At the same time, we cannot argue against our clear realization that these same two decades have seen an astonishing industry, the manufacture of motor cars, start from absolute zero and climb into a position of major industrial importance. These facts are so self-evident that we need not tire our brains to prove the accuracy of the quoted statistics nor dispute the pros and cons of whether there is a cause and effect to be traced between the two.

Ministers have deplored the passing of home life; reformers have harangued against it; magazines have pointed to it with alarm; teachers have testified to the handicaps which it imposes upon their efforts. And simultaneously automobile rows, the country over, have gone merrily on with the sale of passenger cars so long as there was money in the family purses to cover the initial down payments.

Too often the commentator on American life breaks out into an unjust philippic against the automobile, ascribing to it a series of ills for which it is wholly blameless, for which, in many cases, it is simply a means and in no way the cause. That printing disseminates lies as well as truth is not held to be an impeachment of the printing-press.

If, however, there can be traced out of the two simultaneous developments any other parallels which possess economic or social application, then it is worth while to delve deeper into the subject for the sake of the lessons that may be disclosed.

Could we go back into colonial days and compare the yearly investments in home building and home adornment with the sums then spent on horses and carriages, we would certainly see a situation diametrically opposed to that of the present. In fact, we need not go far back into the previous century to find a sufficient contrast—a period when a man's business success and his family's social standing were measurable almost solely by the residence occupied; that is, by its neighborhood, its size, and its apparent luxury.

So long as the home was thus socially emphasized, it was almost automatic that a heavy percentage of a family's income should go into the home. Even the newly wedded couple just breaking out of their teens felt the social urge of immediate home-ownership. To-day in many communities this urge from the outside is virtually non-existent. A family feels, and correctly too, that it in no way endangers its social acceptance to be residence-renters or apartment-dwellers.

But what about the automobile?

Bald as the statement may sound, the motor car has stolen into the vantage-point formerly occupied by the home; it has become the most widely accepted symbol of a man's ability to purchase luxuries, and, as such, furnishes a far more convenient and definite yardstick than any previous gauge.

Jewelry carries no price tag, can be cheaply imitated without serious risk of detection, and can be seen by comparatively few. A home is more visible; but it does not accompany its owner from point to point, and its cost can only be roughly approximated by a layman.

An automobile, on the other hand, accompanies its owner in public and is a commodity whose cost is no secret; its value can be and is known by men and women far above or below the particular financial stratum which forms its market. Your grocery-boy is quite probably a connoisseur on motor values. My wife's four-year-old godson recently pointed out to her an equally youthful neighbor in order to pass on the (evidently) important information that "her father owns two C——s."

Ignoring all the ethical and social aspects of this condition, and studying it solely from its business aspect, one fact juts uncompromisingly out of the picture: It is an advertised product which has thus come to dominate the Nation's thoughts and modify its habit.

By advertising—and more particularly by continual advertising of prices—the motor car has been made this accepted standard, and the public has in turn, by adopting it as a measure of financial standing, accorded the automobile a marginal value, an increased desirability, over and above the inherent worth it holds as merchandise and the value of the service it affords.

Now for a paragraph of contrasts—and explanations.

In a period when manufacturers of

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domestic building materials were nibbling at the advertising pages of our publications the motor-car manufacturer was purchasing full pages and double spreads in magazines and newspapers, and employing color where available, with a freedom which seemed foolhardy, even criminal, to old-timer industries. He was reversing the usual manufacturing process by first shouldering a predetermined production quota, and then applying whatever sales energy was necessary in order to save himself from being smothered by unsold parts. If motor cars were to be made possible for the masses, standardized quantity production was primarily imperative, but quantity sales were equally necessary. Advertising on a scale never previously attempted for commodities of high-unit selling price offered the one hope of solution.

Hence it was that new makes of motor cars, even in their first year, were often heralded in campaigns more extensive, more expensive, than the older and larger manufacturers of home-building material, more tradition-bound, had ever considered. The pleasure, the profit, and the pride of automobile ownership were dramatized in illustration and reading matter. A baby industry developed into a giant long before it had passed its teens.

And the result?

By 1919–20 the automobile had so usurped the interest of the American family that in thousands of instances a family preferred to squeeze itself into a cramped apartment rather than live more expansively and forego its motor car. The joke about the mortgage on the house to buy an automobile had simultaneously developed into a standby of the humorous magazines.

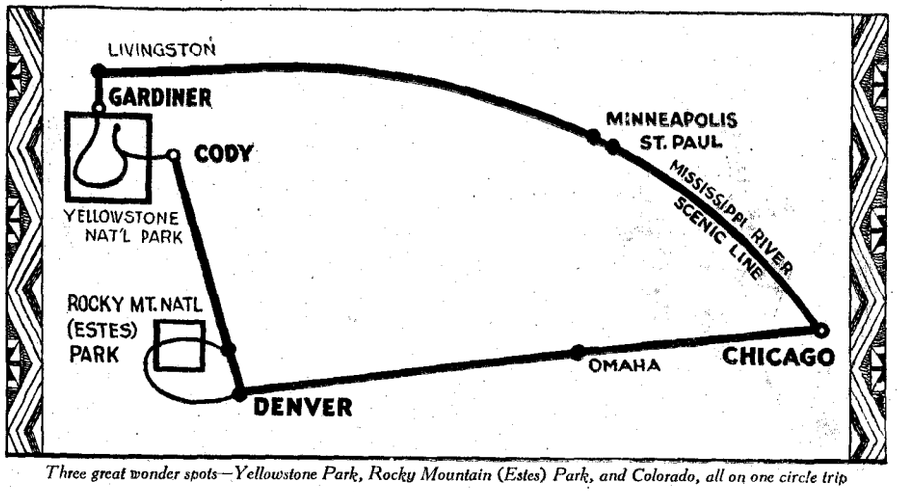
I recall one instance of a few years back where a family of five adults and two children slept in a $32.50 six-room apartment, but rode in a seven-passenger, $6,000 car. I can show you a suburban garage, very nearly as large as the cottage in front of it, which houses a world-famous passenger car de luxe. From Indianapolis comes a story of a family which had three times saved the money for installing a bathroom in its home, only to spend the hoardings elsewhere for commodities forced to its attention by more aggressive sales tactics. Among the possessions of this bathroomless family is an $1,800 motor car. Such paradoxes are so commonplace that every reader can probably duplicate or outstrip these samples.

In my own home city the volume of recent building similarly reflects this willingness to accept less spacious living quarters. Construction has swung heavily to apartments offering "two rooms with the efficiency of five." Under such construction, the same amount of building material formerly required to house one family now roofs three, and the building-material industry suffers accordingly.

What are the business lessons to be drawn from all this?

(*Continued on page 610*)

THE *route to* Yellowstone Park



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Enter Yellowstone through Gardiner Gateway—tour the park—leave over Cody Road—words cannot describe it. Then, Colorado—side trip to tranquil Rocky Mountain (Estes) Park. Thence Denver and near-by vacation regions direct, or across the Continental Divide to Grand Lake and back through Denver's Mountain Parks. In one trip, on through trains!

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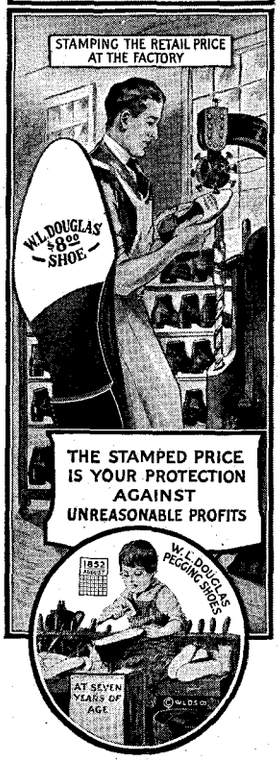
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE OUTLOOK, PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT NEW YORK, N. Y., FOR APRIL 1, 1922.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Robert D. Townsend, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher—*The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.* Editor—*Lyman Abbott, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.* Managing Editor—R. D. Townsend, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Business Managers—The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.

2. That the owners are: The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(Signed) ROBERT D. TOWNSEND, Managing Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1922.

(Signed) J. LYNN EDDY.

[SEAL] Notary Public, Westchester County; New York County Clerk's No. 72; New York County Register's No. 4063; Certificate filed in New York County; Commission expires March 30, 1924.

THE FORGOTTEN FIRESIDE

(Continued)

As I see them, they are three in number.

First and foremost is the fact that if genuine homes (and all that makes them priceless) are to be "sold" to the Nation again the task needs to be shouldered by those who have a permanent, selfish, monetary interest in the accomplishment. It can be attempted economically only by advertising, and that advertising must not be too narrowly intent upon the sale of individual commodities, but must sell the home idea, its comforts, its luxuries, and, above all, its social advantages—in other words, pride in the home must be revived and made fashionable, not only among the moneyed classes, but throughout the rank and file of the public. Each for himself, home-building-material advertisers must phrase their messages—and this can be done—so that the desire for a home is fostered while the advertisements are also actively selling particular brands of merchandise.

Secondly, each manufacturer of building materials and home furnishings must feel the pressure of this need so personally that he will materially help to swell the volume of home advertising by his own publicity efforts, so that, in its total, it will hold its own or surpass the force of publicity behind the automobile or behind any other commodity which tends to reduce the per capita expenditure in homes.

There is a final moral, however, which is far broader in its application and is worth heeding by every reader who is either personally active or is financially interested in any commercial or industrial enterprise. It points a lesson which may be slangily stated, "You never can tell"—be wary of the future and do your thinking for to-morrow to-day.

Keep in mind that in 1900 we were still doubting the survival of the automobile. A man who would then have dared prophesy that within twenty years it would be affecting home-building expenditures and competing with notable success for a considerable slice of the American family's dollar against even so-called "necessities"—such a man would have been hooted down.

In the light of that unforeseen reversal, I cannot but wonder what rock-founded industry, whose leaders to-day are complacently viewing their "assured" future market, is doomed to a similar jolt from a source now unknown.

The motor car shoved the home rudely to one side.

Belts pushed suspenders out of fashion.

The piano is no longer the social *sine qua non* that it once was; a period-design phonograph will serve instead.

National prohibition (the impossible) closed the doors of a host of breweries.

The unknown movies jolted the centuries-old legitimate stage and have emerged from the scuffle with a husky percentage of the amusement slice of the dollar.

Yet what would you ask to seem more

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firmly intrenched than did suspenders, pianos, breweries, and the speaking stage a few short years ago?

The precaution of wiser, more ample, more educational effort by each of the old-timers in advance of its vital need might have held a goodly share of what has now been lost.

CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER is the only woman who has ever been given a dinner by the Authors Club of New York. The fifth of her excursions along "human byways" is published in this issue.

SHERMAN ROGERS, who this week gives a graphic account of the traction situation in Philadelphia, is in New England at the present time studying the great textile strike. We hope to present his report of his first-hand investigations in an early issue.

CAPTAIN OVERSTREET, of the United States Navy, presents in this issue an obvious but sometimes forgotten axiom of naval history, that the capital ship cannot be destroyed. For if all the battleships are eliminated, the capital ship will consist of the next most formidable class, even if the Navy is reduced to the state suggested in the story wherein the Secretary of War is made to inquire: "Where is the Army this morning?" "Sir, he is out rowing in the Navy."

HUGH J. HUGHES is Director of Markets in the State Department of Agriculture of Minnesota and one of the keenest and sanest students of farm problems in the Middle West.

GEORGE STURGES BUCK is a former Mayor of Buffalo. He was born in Chicago in 1875 and educated at Yale and at the Buffalo Law School. He began to practice law in Buffalo in 1898.

HENRY C. SHELLEY, a former editorial associate of Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson's on the London "Daily Graphic," presents a character study entitled "The Author of 'If Winter Comes.'" Although Mr. Shelley was for a time literary editor of the Boston "Herald," he is an Englishman and the author of "Literary By-Paths in Old England," "The British Museum," etc. At one time Mr. Shelley contributed London correspondence on literary and social topics to The Outlook.

HARRY LEE is the winner of the William Lindsey prize of five hundred dollars, offered by the Poetry Society of America for the best poetic drama submitted during 1921. His play depicted the life of Saint Francis of Assisi, and was called "Il Poverello."

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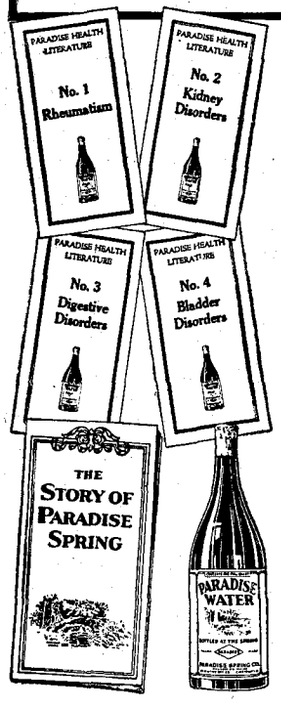

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RAILWAY BONDS

RAILWAY bonds are bonds issued by railway corporations. Every one knows that. Every one is not familiar with the various kinds of railway bonds, however, and it is our belief that a few words of explanation about the different railway issues may be of interest to our readers. This is a subject to which a large-sized book could easily be devoted, and, as our space is limited, we can do little more than mention the salient points in connection with it.

In considering any bond there are three points to bear in mind: the security of the bond itself, the credit standing of the company which issued it, and the salability of the investment. The third point is minor to the others, but important none the less. We shall concern ourselves chiefly with the first two.

Both security and credit position should be carefully investigated, and one is often worth little unless the other too is satisfactory. The security for a bond is largely determined by the bonded debt per mile of road; the credit position, by the

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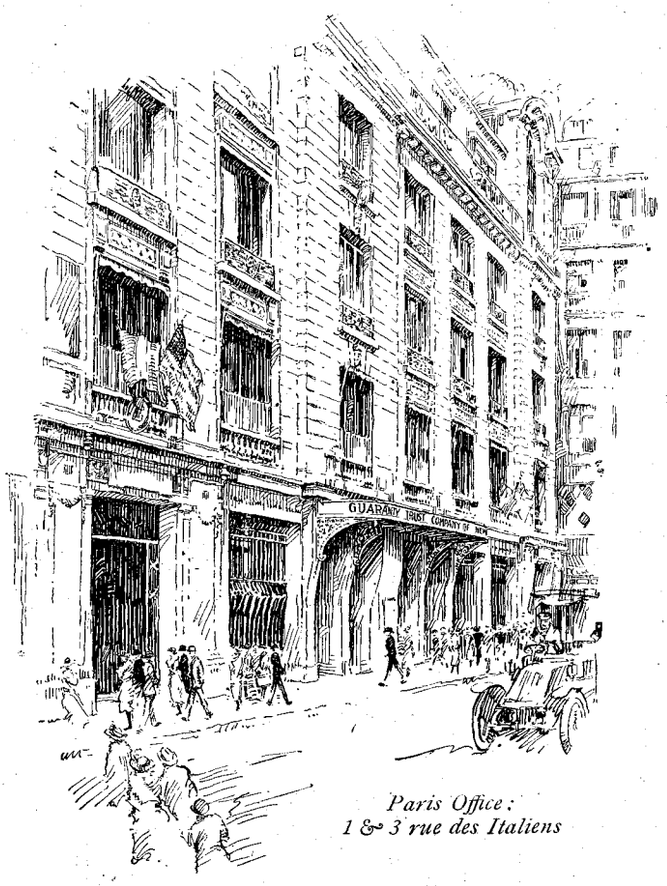

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earnings per mile. For example, two roads may have net earnings of $5,000 per mile, but if one road has a bonded indebtedness of $100,000 a mile and the other $25,000 it stands to reason that the bond issued by the road with the lower indebtedness is the better investment. The first road is obliged to pay interest on bonds issued at the rate of $100,000 a mile, and its earnings are no larger than the second corporation with a bonded indebtedness of only one-fourth as much. Obviously, the credit position of the second road is better than that of the first. It might even happen that a given road would have so strong a credit position that its debenture bonds—mere unsecured promises to pay—would be rated better investments than the mortgage bonds of a weaker road. This does not mean to say that credit is necessarily more important than security; the point is that neither one should be emphasized at the expense of the other.

In acquiring security it is well for the investor to find out just what portion of the railway system is pledged for the payment of his bond. Is it the main line, an important division, or merely a branch which is not essential to the prosperity of the railway and which it could easily get along without? On the answers to these questions may depend the value of the bonds as a high-grade investment.

Most of our great transportation systems are made up of numerous small railways which from time to time have been taken over and absorbed by the main roads. The small roads in nearly every case have had bonds outstanding secured by their properties. When these roads have been absorbed, they have become divisions of the parent system, which has also assumed the obligation of their outstanding bonds. Such bonds are what are known as "divisional liens," and if the particular division by which they are secured is essential to the main system they may be extremely valuable and high-grade issues. In fact, they are usually the underlying bonds which have a claim on the property prior to all the other mortgage bonds. And frequently they are difficult to buy, because the floating supply is small and because their owners, appreciating their investment qualities, are unwilling to part with them.

The divisional liens may or may not be secured by main-line mileage, but they rank ahead of all other bonds on that particular division. Next in rank come the bonds secured by a first mortgage on the main lines. They may not be a first mortgage on the mileage of the entire line, but the highest-grade ones are usually secured by a major part of it, and such bonds issued by our largest systems are usually regarded as investments of the best class. These bonds are easier to buy than the divisional liens, because they are usually outstanding in larger quantities and the supply is therefore more abundant.

After the first mortgages come the general mortgage bonds, which in most

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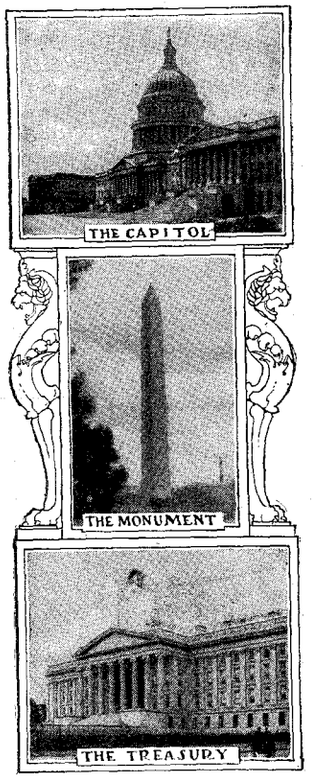

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BONDS SHORT TERM NOTES ACCEPTANCES

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

(Continued)

cases are refunding bonds as well, their due dates being more distant than the underlying bonds and a sufficient number of them being reserved for paying off—or refunding—the prior liens upon maturity. In some instances these issues have been made to run a hundred years or more and the entire mileage of the company included in the property covered by the mortgage. Sometimes terminals, and even equipment, have been included. These general mortgage bonds cover, in most instances, the same property covered by the divisional liens and the first mortgages, but are junior mortgages. That is to say, the divisional liens and first mortgages rank ahead of them. To illustrate how this would work out, suppose a railway had outstanding $5,000,000 of bonds, due $2,500,000 in 1930 and $2,500,000 in 1935, secured on the properties of the various divisions acquired in making up the system; then come $15,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds due in 1940 and secured also by these same divisional properties and on the main-line mileage as well. As time went on and it became necessary to do new financing and raise more money, a general mortgage was created providing for the issuance of $40,000,000 of bonds due 1990. Twenty million of these bonds were to be issued immediately, the balance being reserved to refund the $2,500,000 of divisional liens due in 1930, the $2,500,000 due 1935, and the $15,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds due in 1940. And of course every time an issue of underlying bonds is retired the general mortgage bonds themselves improve their rank, until they themselves will eventually become first-mortgage bonds when all the issues ahead of them are paid off and canceled.

General mortgages have not been as popular with railway companies in late years as they were formerly. Their place has been usurped to a large extent by refunding mortgages, and in cases where refunding mortgages have been made and there was already a general mortgage the latter has usually been "closed"—that is, no more bonds can be issued under its provisions. Refunding mortgages operate in much the same way as the general mortgages, however. And usually such mortgages cover the same property and any additional property acquired—sometimes "to be hereafter acquired"—since the date of the general mortgage. Usually too the bonds may be issued at various times and at varying rates of interest, depending upon the state of the money market at the time they are sold. One big railway, for instance, has 4, 5, and 6 per cent refunding bonds outstanding, all secured by the same mortgage. The refunding bonds, as their name implies, are used to retire underlying liens, and when first issued are usually a first lien on a small amount of mileage—the amount acquired since the general mortgage—and may be second, third, or even a fourth lien on other portions.

Convertible bonds are, as their name

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implies, convertible into—exchangeable for—stock. The conditions upon which this exchange may be made are subject to considerable variation. The bonds are usually convertible into stock at a certain price, and sometimes before a certain date. For example, a thousand-dollar bond may be convertible into stock, one share of stock for each $100, at the rate of, say, $100 a share, and the conversion privilege may expire in ten years—ten years before the bonds mature. If the stock is selling at less than $100 a share, there is very likely no inducement for the bondholders to avail themselves of the conversion privilege, but if the stock should climb to more than that figure the exchange would of course be profitable. Convertible bonds are prone to fluctuate more or less with the selling price of the stock. If they are secured by a mortgage, they are naturally safer than the stock, and probably sell at a higher figure. They are not always thus secured, however, and may depend upon the credit position of the issuing corporation for their value as investments. Determining the worth of a convertible bond is often a complicated affair and deserves careful attention.

Collateral trust bonds are secured by the deposit of other securities. Sometimes these securities may be stocks and bonds of the issuing company, or possibly of other companies which are owned by the issuing corporation. Strictly speaking, they are not mortgage bonds, although some of the bonds pledged for their payment may themselves be secured by a mortgage on the property.

Debenture bonds, in the true sense of the word, are merely promises to pay. Sometimes they enjoy mortgage security, but in most cases they are merely an obligation on the part of the issuing company. The credit position of the issuing company is a very important factor of course in the case of unsecured bonds.

Income and adjustment bonds are usually issued after a reorganization or receivership. At such times it is important to reduce the fixed charges of the company, and these bonds usually pay interest only if it is earned, and sometimes the interest is cumulative, sometimes not. These bonds may in some cases be secured by a mortgage, but, with the debentures, are usually considered among the weakest of a railway's issue. Of course if the company's credit position is good these bonds may be considered good investments.

Equipment bonds are almost always rated as high-grade investments, being secured by rolling stock (cars, locomotives, etc.)—equipment necessary to the operation of the road—and the value of the security is usually considerably in excess of the amount of bonds outstanding. It is customary for equipment bonds to mature serially, a certain proportion every year, so that as the rolling stock deteriorates the amount of the outstanding bonds is correspondingly reduced.

Terminal bonds are also considered high grade in most cases. Terminals, like equipment, are necessary to the operation of a railway, extremely valuable, and in the majority of cases the interest on terminal bonds is made an operating charge on the roads which make use of the terminals. Sometimes—in the case of a union station, for instance—the various roads using the terminal all join in guaranteeing the bonds secured by the property, so that the bonds may be the guaranteed obligation of several railway systems.

These are the main classes of railway bonds. The layman cannot expect to be familiar with them in detail, for a thorough knowledge of bonds requires years of study and experience. Men with knowledge of the subject are always available in the best banking houses, however, and their knowledge is at the disposal of their clients and prospective clients. And, after all, the three main things to find out about are the security for the bond, the credit position of the issuing corporation, and the marketability of the investment. Satisfied as to these three points, the investor can proceed with confidence.

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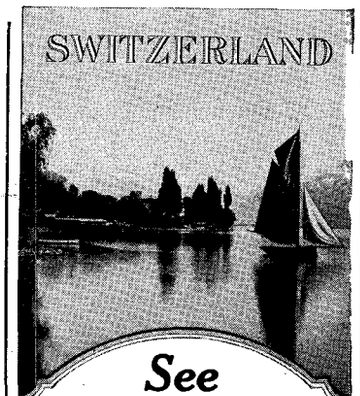

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